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THE

MADRAS REVIEW.

Vol. III. AUGUST 1897. No. 10.

MYSORE, ITS PAST AND PRESENT.

THERE are several aspects of British rule in India which deserve an increasing share of our attention, and of these aspects nothing is more interesting than that which relates to the progress of Native States. Mysore is one of the premier Native States of India, with a population of nearly five millions and a revenue of nearly two crores and an area of about 27,000 sq. miles. Among the Native States of India, it stands second in population and extent, and the very first in the excellence of its administration. The dealings of the

BRITISH GOVERNMENT

with the state of Mysore have been characterised ever since the fall of Seringapatam by a degree of generosity and fairness which is almost unexampled in the history of foreign conquest. The British Government, not only restored the throne of Mysore after the death of Tippu Sultan to a Scion of the Ancient Hindu Royal dynasty, but also reversed the policy of Lord Dalhousie and allowed the penultimate Maharajah to adopt an heir to continue the line of succession. The maladministration of Maharajah Krishna Rajah Wodeyar compelled the British Government to take up the reins of Government in their own hands for fifty long years, and much of the peace, security and stability of the State at the present day is due to the foundations of good government laid firmly by the British Commission during the half century of its direct rule. During the

MINORITY

of H. H. Maharajah Chamarajendra Wodeyar, the British Government spared no pains to give the young Maharajah the best training available. His intellectual, moral and political training was entrusted to Englishmen of high character and capacity like Col. Malleson, Sir James Gordon and Mr. W. A. Porter, names that are held in great reverence even to-day in Southern India. While the Maharajah was thus most fortunate in his tutors and guardians, the management of the Palace was entrusted to the care of the illustrious Indian Statesman Rangacharlu whose integrity of character, courage and great abilities have won for him the everlasting admiration of the entire Native Community of India and the esteem of the British Government.

In the year 1881 His Highness

MAHARAJAH CHAMARAJENDRA WODEYAR

was installed on the *gadi* of his ancestors, and the Rendition of the State has in no small degree enhanced the glory of the British nation. It created a sense of security in all the Native Princes and proved to the Indian people the sincerity of British promises. Rangacharlu who had evinced almost a parental interest in the growth of the Maharajah from his infancy was the first Prime Minister. The finances of the State had been crippled by the famine of 1877-78. Rangacharlu, succeeding British Administrators and to an empty Treasury, had to contend against all the difficulties that fall to the lot of pioneers of every great reform. His genius as an

ADMINISTRATOR

and a financier soon showed itself. Corruption was stamped out. The resources of the State were conserved. Indigenous talent was encouraged. And in the very first year of his administration, Rangacharlu introduced a novel constitution in the shape of

A REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY.

The Mysore Representative Assembly, a purely Consultative Council of the leading landlords and merchants of the Province, was ushered into existence about the time of the promulgation of Lord Ripon's scheme of Self-government, long before the establishment of the National Congress and long before the reform of the Indian Legislative Councils. Rangacharlu introduced the Assembly in the following words :—

"His Highness the Maharajah is desirous that the views and objects which his Government has in view in the measures adopted for the administration of the Province should be better known and appreciated by the people for whose benefit they are intended, and he is of opinion that a beginning towards the attainment of this object may be made by an annual meeting of the representative landholders and merchants from all parts of the Province, before whom the Dewan will place the results of the past year's administration and a programme of what is intended to be carried out in the coming year. Such an arrangement, by bringing the people in immediate communication with the Government, would serve to remove from their minds any misapprehension in regard to the views and action of the Government and would convince them that the interests of the Government are identical with those of the people."

Rangacharlu on assuming the administration had first to deal with the unpleasant and troublesome question of

REPLACING EUROPEAN OFFICERS BY INDIAN

ones, in accordance with the declared wishes of Her Majesty's Government in England and the Government of India. "I observe," wrote Viscount Cranbrook, Secretary of State for India in 1879 to the Governor General in Council, "that it is in contemplation that several of the Departments shall, for sometime, after the transfer (of the Province from British to Native rule) be presided over by Europeans. This may at first be necessary, but such an arrangement should, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, be regarded as purely transitional and be terminated at the earliest date consistent with efficiency." In reply the Government of India said, "In the 8th paragraph of your Lordship's letter reference is made to the proposed retention, for sometime after the transfer, of Europeans at the head of several of the Departments of Administration.. We are fully alive to the desirableness of treating this arrangement as transitory; and we propose to restrict as much as possible from the commencement and to reduce speedily the number of Europeans in the higher ranks of the Mysore Administration." The Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, wrote to the Chief Commissioner of Mysore in 1881. "The other European officials enumerated in the 21st paragraph of your letter may also retain office for the next eighteen months; but it is understood to be the wish of the Government of India,

that after that period they should be replaced by Natives on the first opportunity." While Rangacharlu was giving effect to the wishes of the Government of India, and placing every department of the State on an improved basis, Mysore was not destined to have long the benefit of his direction at the head of the State affairs, as he died in February 1883. The Maharajah, in consultation with the British Government, selected as his Prime Minister Mr. (now Sir) K. Seshadri Iyer, who had the rare good fortune of having been trained under Rangacharlu. The wisdom of the choice of the Maharajah has been demonstrated in the most unexceptionable manner by the eminent success which has attended the career of Sir K. Seshadri Iyer. The following are some of the

MAIN FEATURES

of the benign rule of Maharajah Chamarajendra Wodeyar which earned for Mysore the deserved appellation of the Model State and elevated the Maharajah in the eye of the Marquis of Dufferin and other competent Judges to the level of European Monarchs of the 18th century. The Maharajah imbibed early in life the principles of the British Constitution. To his responsible advisers, he paid the same deference, comparing small things to great, that the Queen-Empress pays to her Ministers, and he abstained, in the manner the greatest of British Sovereigns does to-day, from any undue interference in the administration of the State. He had, however, a watchful eye on all that took place in the State, and he made the best choice possible whenever a high office had to be filled up.

Herein lay the secret of the remarkable progress Mysore made during the short period of 13 years that he ruled over the Province. He fostered the

REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY

with a solicitude worthy of his princely foresight and patriotism. "The Mysore Representative Assembly which had its origin in the first year of His Highness's reign and which was then composed of leading ryots and merchants of the Province, nominated by the Deputy Commissioners and the Dewan, had since a most encouraging career, and its constitution was revised in 1887, so as to provide property qualification for effective representation of the varied interests in the country, *viz.*, Agricultural, Mercantile, Industrial, etc. Various Local Fund Boards, Municipalities and

Public Associations, composed of the more advanced sections of the community, were at the same time allowed to depute members to the Assembly from their respective bodies so that proper representation of all classes of people and localities might be secured. A Talukwar list of qualified persons was accordingly prepared and selection of members made therefrom. Rules were also framed to regulate the conduct of business at the meeting of the Assembly. The revised scheme having worked satisfactorily, it was decided in 1890, to further improve its constitution by allowing the wealthier and the more enlightened classes of people to choose members for it, and a revised set of rules was framed, by which the property qualification for membership has been so fixed as to embrace the largest landholders and the leading merchants and traders. All persons qualified by property or education have been given the privilege to elect from among themselves the specified number of representatives for their respective Taluks, and the cities of Bangalore and Mysore return a number of representatives. In addition to members thus elected, the various Local Fund Boards, Municipalities and Public Associations are allowed the privilege of deputing members to the Assembly from among their respective bodies. Thus constituted, the Assembly efficiently represents all interests in the country." Its numerical strength is about 270. While placing the representation of the people on this eminently satisfactory footing, the Maharajah was not unmindful of the improvement of the

MYSORE CIVIL SERVICE.

For British India, the means of recruitment for the higher appointments in the Civil Service is the Competitive Civil Service Examination. Ever since he assumed the reins of Government, the Maharajah had had the question of manning the various Departments with the best material available, so that the tone of the Service may not deteriorate. To an observant mind like that of the Maharajah, the method adopted by the British Government appeared to be the best that could be devised. After much deliberation the Maharajah, in 1891, instituted the Mysore Competitive Examination on the lines of the British Civil Service Examination, and threw it open to the whole of India. His ambition was to get the best talent available not only in his own Province, but the whole of India. Such an act of high statesmanship, while it won for the Maharajah the admiration of the whole

of India, produced among some men of the Province a jealousy against the capable outsiders who by their merit had succeeded in the competition. One of the discontented men once approached the Maharajah and pleaded for a policy of protection. The Maharajah patiently listened to his friend's representations against the Mysore Civil Service. His Highness summoned one of his men to bring to the Palace the head-loads of vegetables and other articles of consumption that were being carried on the high road, and when they arrived, His Highness asked his friend to choose what he liked best. After the selection was made, His Highness asked the owner of the articles from what place he had brought them. On the seller giving out the name of a place situated outside the Province, His Highness asked the by-stander whether he had any objection to consume things brought from outside. The friend had of course to say that he preferred the imported articles on the ground of their superiority to local products. His Highness asked his friend to apply the analogy to the Mysore service. The friend admitted the force of His Highness's argument, and when the anecdote spread in the city, it had such a telling effect that since then till the death of His Highness, the voice of the protectionists was never again heard.

While the Maharajah was thus improving the tone of the Service and strengthening the position of the Representative Assembly, he did not forget the claims that

SOCIAL REFORM

had on him. Nowhere is Social Reform more needed than in India, nowhere is Social Reform beset with greater opposition than in India. Among the many customs of Hindus which have to be reformed, no customs offer greater resistance than those which regulate the marriages of Hindu boys and girls. Neither the British Government nor any other Native State has at any time even entertained any serious idea of interfering with them. But His Highness had the social welfare of the people, committed to his care by Providence, so much at heart, that in spite of the opposition of some of his subjects, but with the support of the enlightened section, and, strange to say, with the approval of the Heads of the various religious institutions in the Province, he passed

THE MYSORE MARRIAGE REGULATION

which prohibits the marriages of girls and of boys before their 8th and 14th year respectively, and of men of more than 50 years of age with girls of less than 14 years of age. This measure of Reform may appear to be a very small one and hardly worth notice to those who are not acquainted with the Hindu social and religious life. It is only those that know how closely the usages and religious beliefs of the Hindus are intertwined together, that can appreciate the value of the Reform and estimate the courage necessary to make a beginning in the direction of imposing penalties on infant and child marriages. In this respect Mysore stands all alone in the whole of India, and is the single State that has entered the field of legislation in social matters. The most enthusiastic of Hindu Social Reformers in India can hardly at present aspire for more than being able to persuade the Government of India to extend the provisions of the Mysore Marriage Act to British India.

These reforms did in no way interfere with the internal administration of the country. The requirements of the

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

continued to receive the Maharajah's constant attention. The revenue rose year after year. The sense of security engendered by the broad-minded policy of the Mysore Government, offered an irresistible invitation to foreign capitalists to further develop the planting industry and the mineral resources within the State. Local Boards and Municipalities grew in number and importance. Money was spent without stint on Public works. The country was opened on all sides by roads and Railways. Trade flourished. The cities of Bangalore and Mysore were extended and beautified by many public and private buildings with pretentions to architecture. Projects of water supply on an immense scale were carried into execution. Education, Primary, Secondary and Collegiate, made rapid progress. And, in female education, Mysore took the lead, and led the way to all other Native States and even the surrounding British Provinces by founding the first female High School in Southern India, and to-day Mysore is the only part of the country where we believe grown-up Brahmin women are prosecuting their studies for the First-in-Arts Examination of the Madras University. Agricultural Banks were established to afford aid to ryots on the

basis of co-operation and self-help, aided by the supervision of the State. The Government undertook to help the Banks with deposits of money at favourable rates of interest. The Government also granted them exemption from stamp and other duties, and provided for the special registration of loans and their ready recovery, for the custody of funds in public treasuries and for the periodical audit of accounts, etc. Subsidies were granted to encourage trade. Scholarships were awarded to some young men for prosecuting their studies in England. The spirit of self-help was so much fostered that some of the graduates of Mysore, formed themselves into trading corporations, as an example to their educated brethren in other parts of India. The liberty of the Press and of speech was perfectly unfettered, and we do not believe there is any other Native State in which the liberty is exercised to the extent it is in Mysore.

From the date of the accession to the throne of the Maharajah, there was in Mysore

A CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL

composed at first of 3, and then of 2, members to assist the Minister and the Maharajah. At first the Council was composed of retired experienced officials of the Mysore service. Latterly, the Maharajah with a view to raise the tone of the Council and also to have by him the best experience available whether within the Province or outside, called to his aid Mr. Chentsal Rao, C. I. E., the veteran Revenue Officer of Madras, who had after a meritorious career in that Presidency, just then retired on pension. And not a few of the reforms introduced by His Highness's Government were due to the advice and initiation of this distinguished son of Southern India. In short, the Maharajah's Government assimilated all that was best in the Government of British India, and was undergoing a process of development peculiarly its own, and adapting itself to the wants and aspirations of a progressive people. And by common consent, Mysore was the one State in all India where some of the best features of the East and the West were harmoniously combined. The credit was due partly to the British Government which made such an experiment at Hindu sovereignty possible, and greatly to the genius of the Maharajah and his talented and worthy Minister Sir K. Seshadri Iyer.

While the Government of the Native State was being so successfully carried on, the Maharajah's death in December 1894

came upon it as a sudden disaster. So universally popular was the Maharajah that his death was deplored no less by Europeans than by Indians, by the Government of India on the one hand and by the National Congress on the other as a national calamity, an honor which falls to the lot of few Sovereigns and Princes of India. Now it is our painful duty to refer to the subsequent events and the

PRESENT STATE OF MYSORE.

The Maharajah died in December 1894 at Calcutta. In February, His Highness the young Maharajah Krishna Ràja Wodeyar, the eldest son of the deceased Maharajah, was installed on the throne of his ancestors. The Maharanee was declared Regent. The Dewan was given an Executive Council of three members exclusive of himself to carry on the administration of the country, and during the minority of the Maharajah the British Resident in Mysore was invested with greater powers. It is now more than 2 years since the new constitution came into existence, and we may well judge of its suitability by the results it has produced. We are sorry to learn that in the opinion of many Englishmen and Indians competent to judge, the present constitution is not conducive to good government and has already arrested the progress which Mysore was making during the life-time of the Maharajah.

DEFECT NO. I

of the constitution is that it provides no satisfactory central authority in the place of the Maharajah. Where the Maharajah represented the supreme authority, there are now four authorities, with varying degrees of power, responsibility and prestige, none of whom however can, as they stand at present, fill the void created by the death of the Maharajah. The four authorities in the State are Her Highness the Maharani Regent, the British Resident, the Veteran Minister and the Executive Council. The Maharani Regent has the status and rank due to her exalted station. But obviously she cannot be, and has not been, burdened with the full responsibility for the administration of the State, as was her lamented consort. The British Resident is only asked to advise the Mysore Government when his advice is sought, and he may call for reports and accounts, but does not take any active part in the administration and therefore cannot be said to be responsible for the every day conduct of the administration. The Dewan or the Minister is responsible in the eye of the Government of India, and the public at large and of the Maharani Regent, but he has

no powers commensurate with his responsibility and does not stand where he stood before the death of the Maharajah. His hands have been weakened, and in the place of one master he had to serve, he has now three, in the Regent, the Resident and the Council.

DEFECT NO. II

of the new constitution is its unsuitable nature both in theory and practice. Theoretically, some one authority must be supreme and have the final power as have the Viceroy of India and the Governors of British Indian Presidencies, and the person that is invested with the supreme power must also be the one that is responsible for the State affairs. The Viceroy of India and the Governors of Madras and Bombay have the power of veto over their Executive Council, whereas the Dewan of Mysore who is the President of the Council, has no such power. Secondly, the Executive Council of British Provinces differs from that of Mysore in that the members of the former are disallowed from aspiring to the office of Governors or Viceroy, while every member of the Mysore Council expects or can expect to become himself the Dewan one day. We do not know whether in British India, if the same possibility exists, Governors and Viceroys would find it as easy to govern the country as they do now. By discrediting or combining against the President of the Council, they will gain now nothing, whereas in Mysore such a combination, if it occurs, will result in the supremacy of some one or other of the Councillors. The Mysore Council resembles the Council of Warren Hastings.

Thirdly, in British India, the Governors and the Viceroy have a voice in the nomination of the Councillors, whereas in Mysore, in the selection of the Councillors the Dewan is not apparently consulted. Just suppose Lord Salisbury or Mr. Gladstone being asked to carry on the Government by colleagues such as Labouchere and Lord George Hamilton respectively. The only power which the President possesses is the power of complaining against his colleagues—colleagues in whose selection he has had no voice—and over whose decisions he has no veto—to the Maharani Regent. And no self-respecting Minister, and certainly not the present Prime Minister of Mysore, who for 14 long years has enjoyed absolute power with the consent of the late Maharajah, can be expected to prefer complaints against his new colleagues in the Executive Council.

The consequences of the absence of central authority have been the clogging of the administrative wheels in several ways. The hope of initiating new reforms and improving those measures already set on foot has been almost abandoned.

At present, the

TWO PREDOMINATING FACTORS

in determining the policy of Government appear to be the Palace on the one side and the European Community on the other, which naturally has some influence or is supposed to have some influence with the British Resident. Accordingly, then, their wishes and pleasures appear to be consulted more in the nominations that are made to fill up vacancies, or in the creation of new offices in which the present regime appears to be very liberal. The energies of the members of Government are reported to be engrossed in their vying with each other as to who shall win the largest measure of the good will of either or both of the abovementioned powerful factors. The members of Government may now be found on any morning waiting at the Palace door with folded hands or busy devising means to ingratiate themselves in the good graces of the Europeans, so that they may perpetuate their tenure of office and come out successful in the coming campaign. They grant additional allowances, without any justification, to the more clamorous among the Europeans, so that their voice may be of some help in the coming contest for power in February next. And this craving after personal popularity has also led to the rapid importation of Europeans in supercession of the legitimate claims of the Indians in the service. While the Maharajah was alive, the office of Chief Judge of the highest Judicial Tribunal, called the Chief Court, fell vacant, and His Highness appointed an Indian gentleman in the service to fill it. After the death of the Maharajah the same office fell vacant, and the present regime, superseding the claims of all the Native Judges in service, imported from Madras an European who was about to retire on pension after long service in Madras. The following protest which appeared at the time in the "*Hindu*" the leading daily newspaper of Madras, well voices forth public sentiment on the subject: "Even in British India it is an acknowledged principle that whatever objections there may be to the advancement of Native officers to the charge of a District in the Executive branch of the service, there are none to their promotion in the Judicial branch to the highest posts.

Accordingly, on the bench of the High Courts of the Presidency towns there have always been one or more qualified Native gentlemen. In important States like those of Baroda and Travancore, the highest Judicial officer has always been a Native. And yet the Dewan's Council in Mysore has actually, on the retirement of the Native Chief Judge of the Chief Court, trampled on the just claims of the second Judge and approved of the appointment of an European officer from Madras who was on the point of his retirement. The bare-faced injustice of such an arrangement is the more apparent, because, if any Judge has maintained the reputation of the Chief Court for independence, dignity and sound justice, since the appointment of a Native Chief Judge in 1890, it is the very Judge, who has been unjustly superseded. As a sound Lawyer and patient Judge he can scarcely be excelled by a European or Native. Before he came to Mysore, Justice Ramachandra Iyer was Chief Judge of Travancore, and before he was invited by the Maharajah of Travancore to preside over his Chief Court, he was one of the leading Vakils of the High Court of Madras. Sir Charles Turner had the highest opinion of his ability both as a Lawyer and an Advocate. If Justice Ramachandra Iyer had remained at the Madras Bar, it is not improbable that he would have obtained a seat on the Bench of the High Court."

The following quotation refers to two other instances where the present regime has shewed not a very commendable spirit: "Since 1883 the head of the Education Department in Mysore has been designated Education Secretary. The European officer who had been Director of Public Instruction from the days of the British Commission, held the office of the Education Secretary up to about 5 years ago, when he was succeeded by a Native officer of proved merit. This officer had made his mark first as Professor and the Vice-Principal of the Central College. This college owes a great deal to his ability and enthusiasm and untiring industry in the first year of its work as a first grade college. The Maharajah's College, Mysore, owes its present position entirely to him. In 1890 he was appointed Education Secretary, and ever since the influence of his reforming hand has been felt in every branch of the Education Department. Though called Secretary, he and his predecessors enjoyed the privileges and powers of a Director of Public Instruction. Before he joined the Mysore Educational Service in 1876, he was a senior

Fellow and assistant Professor of his college and had received a portion of his education in England. He is a Fellow of the Universities of Bombay and Madras. In the case of such an officer of long experience and proved ability, when it was proposed to call him Director of Public Instruction in name as he was in fact, the present regime opposed the proposal and appointed him Inspector-General of Education, the two first grade colleges—whose principals are Europeans—being made independent of his control. The department has now been split into three circles with no points of contact. There is practically no head of the Department who can hold in his hands the control of its various parts and harmonise their working. The present regime made no effort to secure the services of a qualified Native gentleman for the post of Inspector-General of Forests when it fell vacant although excellent material was available both in and outside the Province. The post was offered to a retired European officer of Madras who could not remain long in the service."

Nor is the new regime amenable to the dictates of

PUBLIC OPINION.

The Minister and the late Maharajah were always afraid to behave in an unjustly harsh manner. Now the majority in the Council consider they are supreme, and while on the oue hand they are extremely solicitous of the pay and allowances of Europeans, they are wholly indifferent to the claims of Natives and can dismiss or retire able-bodied men before their time merely on the strength of their votes. They are aware that none of them individually can be held responsible for wrongs the whole body commit, and that Indian opinion does not affect their position or their continuance in the Council. We should not therefore wonder if many absurd arrangements are made before their present term terminates.

Even in the middle and lower grades of the service

EUROPEAN YOUTHS

who have failed in the most elementary public examinations and failed to get any footing in England or the Colonies, or in British India, are, and have been, lately introduced to the dismay of qualified Indian candidates of the Province, and men of proved ability in the service. This importation of Europeans in a Native State is not only against the express and repeated orders of the Government of India who, in their despatches,

again and again expressed their solicitude that the European Agency then in the service should be promptly replaced by Native Agency, but it stands in sorry antagonism to the spirit that animated the late Maharajah. He was the very embodiment of courtesy and kindness to Europeans and was always generous towards them. But he never allowed himself to be carried so far as to overlook what properly belonged to his own subjects and the Indian community at large. Once when he was on a short visit to a British Indian Presidency town, no less a person than the Governor of the Presidency, endeavoured to persuade His Highness to take into the higher ranks of the Mysore service an European officer serving in that part of British India. His Highness met the request with the most polite but none the less firm-minded negative and regretted that such a step would involve injustice to the claims of those already in his service. It is a matter for extreme regret that at present a policy which is so directly at variance with the spirit of the late Maharajah's management of affairs should obtain in Mysore. It is not to be understood for a moment that we advocate the total exclusion of Europeans. On the contrary, the Government of Mysore has repeatedly acknowledged the invaluable help that it has derived from the presence in the service of

HIGH CLASS EUROPEANS.

The example of British energy, rectitude of purpose, and devotion to duty cannot but impart a tone to the Native service and raise its efficiency, nor can there be objection to the sons of such officers of the old Commission as have done meritorious service to the State and are also qualified, being entertained in the service of the State. But what is objected to is the appointment of youths who have no claims, and what is worse, who have no qualifications that can compare with those of Indians.

Prominent among the

ARBITRARY MEASURES

adopted by the new regime, almost the first act on their accession to power was the one by which they have debarred Counsel from appearing in Revenue appeals heard by the Councillors. The old Consultative Council allowed pleaders to appear before them in Revenue appeals, with a view to enable the litigants to present their cases properly to Government as the decision of the Govern-

ment was final and would seal their fate for good or evil once for all. The abolition of such a valued privilege indicates the temper of the new constitution.

The present Government does not appear to be alive to its responsibilities in the direction of adopting some method for training Indians to offices in which technical or special knowledge is required. This neglect on their part leads to their importing Europeans on the score of the absence of qualified Indians. The policy of Rangacharlu was to train Indians for all high appointments in accord with the declared policy of the Government of India, that in Native States the higher offices should be held by Indians, and whenever a competent Indian could not be procured on the spot, to send for one from British India. This policy must be adhered to most scrupulously during the minority, and the Resident should be made in a manner responsible for its rigid observance by the Mysore Government. To refrain from giving Indians adequate opportunities for acquiring the necessary training beforehand and then making it a pretext for importing Europeans, should be avoided.

We have noticed with regret the attempt made by the present regime to tamper with the Civil Service scheme and endanger the central principle of free competition which is its essential merit. The late Maharajah devoted anxious thought to it, called to his aid a Council of all the important European and Indian heads of Departments in the service, and after several sittings the scheme was matured. The present regime without any such consultation or deliberation, and in a most light-hearted manner have adopted a scheme which entirely ignores the spirit of the late Maharajah's measure. There was no necessity for reconsidering the principle of the scheme when all that the Government had before it was the question of calling for further recruits to the Service. At least in deference to the memory of the late Maharajah who had done so much for the good Government of the country, we should like the present Government to leave the system alone and leave it to the young Maharajah when he comes of age to modify it or continue it as he thinks best.

Other evils which have followed in the wake of the new constitution in Mysore are thus depicted by the writer in *The Hindu* whom we have quoted above:—

"With the advent of the present Council, all encouragement of local industries appears to be doomed. The subsidies

to Native industries have been stopped. The system of Agricultural Banks inaugurated last year must languish for want of sympathetic nurture. The present cut and dry system of Government contrasts unfavourably with the late Maharajah's Government which steadily cultivated friendly feelings towards the people and attended to the wants of the latter with a degree of solicitude unknown in British territory...... .... A chilling influence has already settled upon the work of every department. The heads of most departments have been disheartened by the encroachment upon their duties and powers by Councillors. The best that they hope now to do is to save their departments from retrograding when there is little hope of advancing, for want of intelligent appreciation and support from Government. Their hands have been weakened, all important patronage has been taken away from them, and they have suffered in the estimation of their subordinates."

One statement in the above quotation requires modification. We understand since the date of its publication, some steps have been taken to strengthen the Agricultural Banks, and we are grateful for it to the present regime. Now that by February next the present constitution will have lived the three years of life, first assigned to it, it will then be the proper time for placing it on a sound basis. The first effectual reform which is urgently called for is the formation of a

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

for Mysore. The Representative Assembly furnishes the best field for the selection of the non-official members. In 1892, the Minister thus congratulated it on the extension of its franchise :—

"By command of His Highness the Maharajah, I have much pleasure in welcoming you to this Assembly, which meets here to-day, for the first time under the election system sanctioned last year. You come here as the duly elected Representatives of the Agricultural, the Industrial and the Commercial interests of the State. Last year when His Highness was pleased to grant the valued privilege of election, he was not without some misgiving as to how the experiment would succeed, but it is most gratifying to His Highness that though unused to the system, the electoral body have been able in the very first year of its existence, to exercise the privilege with so much judgment and

sense of responsibility as to send to this Assembly men in every way qualified to speak on their behalf. That men representing the capital, the industry and the intellect of the country, should have already taken so much interest in the working of the scheme, augurs well for the future of the Institution. His Highness asks me to take this opportunity publicly to acknowledge the expressions of warm gratitude which have reached him from all sides for the privilege of election granted last year."

Since the above words were uttered and since the inauguration of the new regime, we think a change has come over the Government in its attitude towards the Assembly. There was some justification for it, as some of the members belonging to the Lawyer and School-master classes, some of whom were unused to the exercise of political power, readily identified themselves with the agitation that was set on foot on the death of the Maharajah, and by their misrepresentation lowered the Assembly in the public estimation. This has naturally annoyed the Mysore Government, and recently signs are not wanting in high quarters of an effort to discredit the Assembly and impair its usefulness. But temporary aberrations on the part of some members, however reprehensible it may be, especially when members take to misrepresent the Government at the very time the Government had a right to expect from the Assembly and its leading lights every support and co-operation, should not blind Government to the merits of the institution, and Government should take a generous view, and should not allow itself to strike at the very root of an institution full of promise and with such potentialities of lasting good to the country.

The Assembly has successfully stood the test of 16 years, and on the whole has acquitted itself in a manner that is exceedingly creditable both to itself and the Government. Therefore it may well be granted the privilege of electing a portion of the members of the Legislative Council, the remainder being nominated by the Government from among the heads of the various departments. As in Mysore no law can be passed without obtaining in the first instance the assent of the Maharani Regent, and then the sanction of the Government of India, there can be no danger at all of the wind-bags and demagogues of the Legislative Council, if any, inflicting a defeat on the Government or enacting laws prejudicial to public or social well-being.

The second measure of reform is the

RE-MODELLING OF THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION

which has so far proved a failure. At the time of its introduction, Mysore was rather unfortunate in its Resident, who was rather a weak man and unfitted for such a delicate task. He, in making his proposals, apparently forgot that Mysore had a regularly organised Government which had been elaborated and successfully worked for 50 years by the British Government and for 15 years had had the guiding hand of a rare statesman like the late Maharajah. No change was called for in its constitution. What was wanted was simply the replacing of the central authority which it had lost in the death of the late Maharajah. Instead of this a radical change was attempted, and some scheme, which was apparently drawn up for such backward States as Gwalior and Cashmere, was applied to Mysore. The result is that departing from the procedure of all enlightened Governments, nominations to the so-called Executive Council were made on racial grounds and not on merit, and the Council has not helped the despatch of business. It will conduce to greater efficiency and the suppression of all factious spirit if the

RESIDENT

is given a more substantial and more direct share in the administration of the country during the minority, in consultation and in concert with the Dewan. At present while, if anything goes wrong, the Resident has power to come down on the Administration, he is by no means directly responsible for it. The old Consultative Council must be revived in the place of the unworkable Executive Council. Two Consultative Members would suffice for a small Province like Mysore. The Dewan should be bound to consult the Council on all financial and other important questions in which he consults the Executive Council now. No financial measure or no change of rules shall be adopted without the opinion of the consultative council being first obtained. The Councillors should be chosen from among the retired Indian officers of Mysore or of British India, if competent men are not available in Mysore. Such men will have no motive either to interfere with the heads of departments or to weaken the hands of the Minister. On the other hand, their ripe experience and impartial counsels will be a source of strength to the Government.

The work at present is greatly centralised, and suffers from

such centralisation. The Executive Council has no touch with the condition of things in the Districts as the members do not go out on tours and do not come in contact with the people and officials. Two Commissionerships of Divisions may well be instituted on the lines of those in the Presidency of Bombay. These Commissioners, taking rank next to the Dewan, will relieve him of much of the routine, and he will have time for the consideration of the larger questions. The Districts also will profit by the guidance of the Commissioners, who will be in touch with the Government on the one hand, and the District Officers on the other. With the Maharani Regent at the head of the State, with the Resident taking a more direct share in the administration, with a consultative council to help the Dewan, with the Commissioners of Divisions to relieve him of all important details, with a Legislative Council, composed of heads of Departments and elected members from the Representative Assembly, to enact laws, the constitution we propose will be the most suitable one which, in all probability, would be fit to be continued even after the assumption of power by the young Maharajah, and thus conduce to the continuity of the Administration.

Mysore has been exceedingly fortunate both in its present and past Residents. Mr. Macworth Young's geniality of temper and dispassionate disposition are widely known, and have received their due reward in the heart-felt gratitude of the people of the different provinces which had the benefit of his supervision. Col. Donald Robertson, the present Resident, is an Englishman of great force of character and unbounded sympathy with the Natives of India. No more fitting person can be found to stand by Mysore at this juncture and to whom can be entrusted the onerous task of preserving the integrity of the State intact as the premier Hindu State in all India.

NATIVE AGENCY IN NATIVE STATES.

IT is one of the most remarkable things of this time of transition and change in India that, while on every side the educated Indian is clamouring for a greater share in the administration of his country and is generally convinced that he is altogether competent to undertake the responsibilities of any exalted office to which he may be appointed, we have an object lesson in another direction which largely negatives the Indian's belief in his own powers and is a tacit confession of his inability to carry on the difficult art of Government. What that object lesson is will appear later on. One of the reasons, among others, given by Europeans, adverse to the "India for the Indians" policy, for the non-employment of Native Indians in the more onerous and responsible positions in the administrative machinery of India, is that they are, as a class, deficient in vertebre: that, in short, in the event of any unlooked for *fiasco* or disaster which, in a country inhabited by peoples possessing diverse and irreconcilable creeds and customs, might at any moment demand qualities of prudence, foresight, tact and discrimination and, above all, impartiality and courage, the Native administrator, when tried, would be found wanting. It is not intended here to discuss at any length this point; all I wish to convey in this paper is that from the practice, in places where it is apparently quite within the sphere of practical politics to govern a people solely by means of Native agency, it would seem that Natives, when left to their own resources, appear to be conscious that the growth of the Igdrasil of Government is impossible in India deprived of the (moral) fibre supplied by Englishmen. With that fibre it grows and flourishes, without it the dead rot sets in, and the tree decays and dies. Why else is it that Native Princes and Chiefs, protected as they are by the paramount power; safe as they are under the shadow of its sheltering wings and entitled as they are to seek its aid in times of danger and distress arising from external enemies or internal dissension, still reserve for Europeans some of the most exalted offices in their Governments and consider it a retrograde policy to substitute, at any time,

Native for such European agency. It may be said in reply that Native States are still in a state of pupillage and that until the vigour of accomplished virility sets it, the guiding hand of the European is required to foster their growth. Curiously enough this contention is incompatible with the indisputable fact that the Prime Minister of a Native State—an official on whose shoulders falls the most difficult and delicate official business—is invariably a Native and with the fact that the Revenue business of the State,—business that requires exceptional administrative ability—is always presided over by Natives. If then a Native can successfully—and the remarkable achievements of men like the late Sir Madava Row, and others now living, will be easily recalled in this connection —conduct the multifarious affairs of large provinces like Mysore and Travancore—and I select these as being among the most advanced among their kind—there is no adequate reason why Natives should be considered incapable of administering a particular department in such States—and as I have pointed out Natives do and very ably too, conduct and regulate the Revenue administration of the country. In this connection also the districts of British India furnish abundant testimony to the ability of Natives in all departments of the administration of the Empire. It cannot, for a moment, be asserted that the young Civil Servant just out from the class room or from his coach's hands, and appointed to the responsible position of Sub or Head Assistant Collector of a District on his arrival in this country, attains by a process of mental gymnastics, *per saltum*, to a knowledge of all the minutest of his many duties and responsibilities. It is perfectly well known that he begins to learn his work from his Native Subordinates who tactfully lead him in the path he should walk till he, after years of experience in the various districts, learns his business thoroughly. Some do learn it thoroughly and become in time real advisers to the Government, others, on the other hand, are ever in leading strings, plod through this term of service and retire from the "ablest service in the world" nothing but mediocrities. The ability of the Native is patent and has long been recognised by Englishmen. "Oh, I grant the ability," says the objector, "the qualities that they have not got are backbone and self-reliance and technical knowledge, and for these two reasons the employment of Europeans is an absolute necessity for any Native State that aspires to take a

leading position." The objection is tenable so far as regards technical knowledge. Such knowledge is essential in many departments, like the Forest, the Revenue Survey, the Educational, the Public Works, and in a lesser degree the Police. But why should the absence of technical knowledge be pleaded as an excuse. It is one that is easily and speedily remedied. While one sees with pleasure the British Government going to the trouble and expense of giving scholarships to exceptionally bright Native Graduates to proceed to England and to complete their education in any direction they choose; while one marks with approval that annually a larger number of students are passing out as Engineers and are being provided with appointments in the higher grades of the British Service; while one notes with approbation that Natives of India have won their way even into the commissioned ranks of the Medical Service ; one deplores the fact that the Native States, in South India at least, are making no provision for the supply of capable native officials by giving them a sound European technical education. I hope there is nothing disloyal, nothing opposed to the legitimate ambitions of a Native Ruler, nothing subversive of the intentions of the British Government in regard to the internal administration of Native States, to say that if I were in the fortunate position of a ruling Native Prince or Chief, it would be one of my cherished ambitions to prove to the British Government, and to the civilized world, that under the beneficent and fostering sway of the British Government in India, the administration of a Native State under the rule of a Native Chief, purely by means of Native Agency, is an achievement quite within the range of practical politics. By treaty, of course, certain officials in Native States must be Europeans. But these Europeans have, as a rule, nothing to do with the administration of affairs. They are either Military Officers or Justices of the Peace and as such have no voice in administrative questions. Whether as District Magistrates and Collectors or Judges and Munsiffs, as Engineers or Survey Officers, as Forest or Police Officers or as Educationists in my ideal Native State, Natives only should be the functionaries employed. Such a Native State administered on English principles would be an object lesson to the British Government to which that Government itself would point with pride as the product of English training, English education and English fair play. " This is all very pretty and very plau-

sible," says my objector, "How about the moral fibre?" My reply is, that the assumption—and it is nothing more—that Natives have no moral fibre or self-reliance is an unwarrantable assumption. Compared with the dominant Europeans, Natives might have less, but that does not prove for one instant, that the moral fibre does not exist. Native kings lived and reigned successfully and beneficiently, centuries prior to Englishmen invading the land. History readily affords illustrious examples of great men in the past, and it is absurd to say that among the 280 millions of India there are not large numbers of men fitted to rule in every sense of the term. Indian races, with notable exceptions, are not warlike, and yet, the "mild Hindu," properly trained and heroically led, has crowned many a noble struggle with victory. Can there be any doubt that that same mild Hindu, properly educated and trained, could act as a leader if occasion offered. Men always kept in a subordinate position will always be afraid to act promptly and with self-reliance. The opportunity often makes the man, and I firmly believe that the moral fibre in Natives would grow stronger if it were subjected to trials and given opportunities for growth. To apply a well known biological law—the disuse of an organ leads to its degeneration and decay. A Native State is an ideal environment for the training of Native administrators. There are no external enemies to combat; there are no great political questions to solve, and no very serious opposition within the State to fear. Every Ruler of a Native State should therefore endeavour to demonstrate the possibility of ruling his province by purely Native agency. With the experiment, the moral fibre which, it is said that the Natives of India so much lack, will grow with the growth of Native States and strengthen with their strength. Instead of Native Princes and their Prime Ministers doing something in this direction, it is discouraging to find that the plums of the service in their gift become the perquisites of Europeans. I consider that it is not meet that the children's bread should be taken from them, but when it happens, as it frequently does, that the European so chosen, is no expert in his business, has no special aptitude for the work, and that his only recommendation is that he is either the son of a distinguished father or the protege of some Anglo-Indian personage, it is more than injustice, it is robbery; and the only excuse for it is the conviction that forces itself on the mind that the authority responsible for making the appoint-

ment had not sufficient moral fibre himself to say " No." I maintain that it is useless for Natives to clamour for a larger share in the British Indian administration when Native Rulers themselves clearly prefer European Agency to carry out their work. Native Rulers do this, either because Europeans make better servants by reason of their special technical knowledge or because they really believe that the European has richer moral stamina. As regards the first, I have suggested how it could be remedied, and as regards the second, it has not been shown that Natives are not equal to any of the requirements that may befall officials in a Native principality. It is hardly worth consideration, but it may be that Native Princes delight in the empty honor of giving employment to a large number of Europeans; if so, it is a petty vanity which could well give place to the nobler ambition of training the Natives of India to occupy positions of trust and responsibility, and to demonstrating the possibility of an Indian principality being administered in every department solely by natives. Such an experiment accomplished would be a better answer to those who say that Natives are fit only to be hewers of wood and drawers of water than volumes of wordy warfare in the congress pavilion or tons of articles in the Newspaper Press.

INDIAN.

SAKUNTALA.

BEFORE proceeding to discuss the merits of Sakuntala, the only work of Kalidasa that yet remains to be criticised we feel bound to notice a few defects pointed out by Sir Monier Williams as existing in all Sanskrit plays not saving Sakuntala.

In his Introduction to the translation of Sakuntala the critic makes the following observations: "By a curious regulation the jester or Vidushaka is always a Brahman and therefore of a caste superior to the king himself. Yet his business is to excite mirth by being ridiculous in person, age and attire. He is represented as grey-haired, hump-backed, lame and hideously ugly. In fact he is a species of buffoon who is allowed full liberty of speech being himself a universal butt. His attempts at wit which are rarely very successful and his allusions to the pleasures of the table of which he is a confessed votary are absurdly contrasted with the sententious solemnity of the despairing hero crossed in the prosecution of his love suit. His clumsy interference in the intrigues of his friend only serves to augment his difficulties and occasions many an awkward dilemma." This criticism expressed in such strong language is far from complimentary to the dramatist's conception of this character but we have the consolation to find that much of it, whether Sir Monier William's observations are directed against the Court Jester as he ought to be or as he is, is altogether unfounded. Sahitya Darpana, a work of high authority on the subject describes the buffoon as a person who is skilled in provoking mirth by his assumed quaintness of speech, dress and appearance. No personal deformity of any kind is a necessary condition of his success in playing the part assigned to him. Again there is nothing curious in the jester being necessarily a Brahmin; for in the Hindu Society as it was then constituted, it was only a Brahmin that could, in the presence and hearing of the emperor claim immunity from chastisement for that rudeness of behaviour which in the language of Shakespeare is 'a sauce to good wit.' As for the Jester's wit it is indeed true that it appears decidedly dull in comparison with that which some of Shakespeare's fools display; but it must be remembered that the incidents

of the Sanskrit language make punning and kindred arts almost impossible. Nor is there any foundation whatever for the last observation. It is true as the writer observes, that the confidants of the heroine please the reader better than the hero's companion by their pleasant innuendos, their affection and anxious solicitude for the worldly prosperity of their comrade. But that is certainly no ground to deny the Court Jester his dues. Nothing that the Jester is represented to have said or done in the course of the whole play can lend any support to the observation that his conduct augmented the difficulties of the hero in the prosecution of his love-suit. The king sees Sakuntala, is smitten with love for her, confides the secret to his companion, the Jester, and asks him to devise some ingenious pretext justifying a repetition of his visit to the hermitage. He suggests one, but ere the king decides upon it he receives a summons from his mother requiring him to return to the capital immediately. To comply with the requisition would be to postpone the second visit to the hermitage. The king is evidently embarassed and who could help him out of the difficulty agreeably to his wish but his constant companion, the Jester? The Jester offers to go back to the capital and supply the king's place in the queen-mother's estimation pleasantly adding of course

"If as king's younger brother he must go,
That kinship his equipment large must show."

The king grants the concession and the Jester proudly exclaims "I am the king's brother already." The king mistakes him for a giddy fellow and fearing that he might divulge his secret to the ladies of the royal harem, induces him to think that the king's talk of Sakuntala was all a jest, but the jester who apparently could read between the lines understands all that was passing in the king's mind and gives the following purposely short and significant reply "Don't distress yourself. I quite understand." He then leaves for the capital. We see him next trying his best to infuse some cheerfulness into the heart of the king filled with disconsolate sorrow and repentance at the recollection of his treatment of the pregnant Sakuntala. In the course of the conversation the king asks him why he had omitted to tell him all about Sakuntala when he (the king) disowned having married her. The Jester who had not forgotten how the king had once tried to pursuade him that the affair of Sakuntala was all a jest, tells the king that he had taken him at his word.

This almost exhausts the Jester's part, if part it could be called, in the play, and we fail to see how the Jester by doing what he did placed the king in any dilemma.

It is next urged that Hindu dramatists have no claim to much fertility of invention. Here we cannot help thinking that this observation of the critic is induced by a misconception of the object which Hindu plays were intended to serve. The function of the Sanskrit drama was to place before the audience assembled at the theatre an ideal of life which they should strive to imitate. A thrilling portraiture of the frailties of human nature or of 'the ills that flesh is heir to' was considered hardly sufficient to achieve the one end in view, namely, the moral and the spiritual elevation of the audience. It was human life thoroughly idealised and free from all its blemishes—in fact a rose without thorns—that was presented in these plays to a gaping audience who found in the hero little of the stuff of which they were made. The matter stood thus—in proportion to the loftiness of the ideal would be the moral and spiritual elevation of the audience, but in proportion to the fineness of the ideal life would be the growing conviction in the mind of the audience that the story put on the stage was a fiction. That the story may be regarded as a real anecdote it was necessary that it should resemble the ordinary human life as nearly as possible. That the one object which these plays were intended to serve might be accomplished it was equally necessary that the play should present a life as much above the reach of ordinary humanity as possible. Here exactly was the rub and the Hindu dramatists got over the difficulty and satisfied both the conditions by adopting the following course. The Hindu belief in the stories recorded in the two epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana was always firm and unshaken and the story of some king or emperor therein narrated generally furnished the plot for Sanskrit plays. The lives of kings furnished the ideal of life which the Hindu dramatists wished to paint and the Hindu reverence for these two epics removed all apprehensions of the audience regarding these stories as fables. Now as the audience believed in the truth of these stories simply because they were so narrated in these epics it was necessary that the story as narrated in the play should closely follow the story in the epics. Any deviation however slight from the main incidents of the story as related in the pages of the Mahabharata or the Ramayana, nay, any improvement in the version would

therefore have affected the credulity of the audience by undermining the very foundations on which that credulity rested. The greater the exercise of the inventive faculty by the dramatist, the greater consequently the chances of the audience turning away with disgust from the representation of the drama on the stage. It is therefore no matter for surprise or regret that Hindu dramatists in adapting the anecdotes of the great Hindu epics were under the circumstances constrained rather to curb their inventive faculty than to allow it free play. We have till now assumed the truth of the facts upon which the complaint is based and tried to explain them away without disparagement to the Hindu dramatists. We shall now examine the facts and see whether they are true.

The story of the loves of Dushyanta and Sakuntala is decidedly prosaic and uninteresting as narrated in the Mahabharata. The king attended by a Purohit goes to Kanwa's hermitage to see the sage but, the sage being absent therefrom, he is received by Sakuntala who plays the hostess. The king is smitten with her charms and on learning from her who she was and how she happened to be there, proposes to marry her. She consents to the step on condition that her son by him should become his successor to the throne. The king signs to the stipulation and they marry in the Gandharva form. The king spends some weeks in the hermitage with his new-made queen and leaving her there pregnant, goes back to his capital and forgets all about her. Sakuntala is in due course confined of a son who owing to the royal blood running in his veins evinces a martial spirit even during his infancy, killing and maining the harmless deer roving about the hermitage. Sage Kanwa noticing with pain the havoc that the lad was doing sends Sakuntala and her son under an escort of hermits to the palace of Dushyanta. The king repudiates the marriage with Sakuntala when lo! a voice in the air reminds Dushyanta of the marriage and enjoins him to receive her and his son. The king does so and lives happily with her. It is this story that furnished the plot of the play of Sakuntala and we see how exquisitely charming it looks in the garb in which it is dressed by Kalidasa. The substitution of the jester, however uninteresting, for the purohit, the introduction of the comrades of Sakuntala with their sly jokes and enlivening conversation, the tale about the curse of the choleric sage, the parting scene between Sakuntala and her foster-father, the contrivance of the lost ring

and its recovery, the aerial transit to and from Indra's heaven, the scene between the fisherman and the constables, and the amulet and its virtues have shed such a peculiar charm over the dull old story that we scarcely recognise it in the new setting.

Nor could it be urged that the fact of Kalidasa's having borrowed the story for the plot from the Mahabharata argues that he lacked the inventive faculty. Even the immortal Shakespeare was indebted for the plots of many of his plays to Plutarch, Holinshed and Boccaccio and no critic has till now dared to whisper that Shakespeare did not possess the inventive faculty in an eminent degree. If it be urged that Shakespeare borrowed nothing but the bare outlines of the plot from the originals and that the delineation and development of character, the interesting details and the artful involution of the plot were all supplied by his rich imagination, we answer that this argument applies with equal force to the case before us ; for no one who has read the story in the pages of the Mahabharata will after perusing the play of Sakuntala hesitate to declare that the genius of Kalidasa has improved upon the original at least as much as the 'faculty divine' of Shakespeare has improved upon the stories of Plutarch.

Having so far traversed the defects pointed out by Sir Monier Williams, we now proceed to discuss the merits of the play of Sakuntala.

That this play is one of great poetical merit is a matter on which the severest critics of all nations are agreed. According to the Sanskrit literati of India this play is first and the rest nowhere. As for the praise which it has secured to the author in European countries we need only observe that it has been translated into more than one language on the Continent and that critics and scholars like Augustus William Von Schlegel, Alexander Von Humbolt and Goethe have assigned to this play a lofty place in the poetical literature of all nations.

It is often observed by oriental scholars that the first three acts of this play are decidedly uninteresting. We are of course prepared to concede that the fourth and the succeeding acts interest the readers better than the first three Acts for it is only natural that as the plot thickens the play must grow more and more interesting. It may also be that on account of the variety of scenes and interesting incidents fast succeeding one another in the latter portion of the play the reader's mind is not compelled to linger long upon the same scene or incident. But we can

hardly concur in the low opinion which some of these critics appear to entertain regarding the first three acts of the play. These contain passages of exquisite beauty worth treasuring up in our minds both for language and sentiments and entitled to compare favorably with similar passages in the poetical literature of England. It may be that to minds favourably inclined towards the institution of monogamy the fact of the hero (of a play) having a wife and making love to secure a second may seem ridiculous. But that has little to do with one's appreciation of the poetic beauties of a play the hero of which does not for very well-known reasons think it a crime to marry a second wife during the lifetime of the first. It is true that when king Dushyanta and Sakuntala meet for the first time they fall hopelessly in love with each other ; but there is no rule, unless it were a rule of nature, which requires the hero and the heroine of an Indian play to be equally impressible. We ask with Marlowe

'Whoever loved that loved not at first sight?'

The same law, whether it be human or divine, we leave that to Sir Monier Williams to determine, which made the untutored Miranda fall in love with her cousin Ferdinand at the first sight of him, the same law which made Ferdinand fall in love with Miranda at the very first sight of her and in admiration of her beauty call her a goddess made Dushyanta and Sakuntala fall in love each with the other at the first sight. Dushyanta's praise of Sakuntala's beauty falls far short of the praise which Ferdinand gives to Miranda's charms. Struck with Miranda's beauty Ferdinand considers her a goddess and asks her 'if she were made or no.' Dushyanta alike charmed with Sakuntala's beauty was sure that she was made but only questioned the how of it in the following verses :

A picture painted by the hand of God,
By Him infused with breath and living warmth,
Rather an ideal form of beauties rare
Conceived and shaped in His eternal mind ;
Or, Nature's skill and her fair form considered,
Methinks, a precious jewel of woman-kind
A new creation different from the rest.

If Dushyanta is touched at the sight of Sakuntala being relegated to the task of watering the trees in the penance-grove—a task to which her slender limbs were so much alive—and desired

to be allowed to do her work as her proxy it was exactly what Miranda from love and pity for Ferdinand, offered to do when she saw him compelled by her unrelenting father to carry heavy logs of wood and pile them up.

Nor are the amorous rhapsodies in the first three acts of the play uninteresting or positively ridiculous. They no doubt indicate a love-diseased brain but quite become it. Passages like these and the sentiments which they express are no peculiar feature of the Indian plays. Dushyanta grows envious of a bee which hovers about Sakuntala's face and calls it happier than himself, just in the same way as Imogen informed by Pisanio that Posthmus kissed his handkerchief is made to exclaim.

'An! senseless linen happier therein than I.'

The following are some of the passages in the first three acts of the play that deserve to be singled out for praise, for their beauty of sentiment and language:

The lotus fair, though overlaid with moss
Is charming to the view; the spots, though dark,
Set off the beauty of the moon; clad though
In dress of bark, this lovely damsel fair
Looks all the lovelier: What garb but gives
To forms by nature sweet a sweeter charm?

How prosaic by the side of this grand conception read the following oft quoted bits from English literature.

'Beauty when unadorned is adorned the most'

and

'Beauty needs not the aid of ornament.'

The following is the poet's description of a bashful maiden in her first love:

She mingles not in talk but while I speak
She turns her face and lends a listening ear;
Indeed she does not look me in the face
But oft on others fixes not her gaze.
When facing her I stood she sudden turned
Her looks from me and often gently smiled
As if at something else. By coyness checked
Her love, not well expressed, was ill concealed.

There are many such passages worth quoting but we shall content ourselves for want of space with quoting the poet's description of the speed of the king's chariot:

What to the view just now looked but a speck
Assumes extended form; what looked disjointed grows
A perfect whole; nay what of crooked shape
In fact, grows straight to the view; nothing from me
Long far removed or aught long near my side:
Such mark now! my chariot's wondrous speed.

Now going to the fourth Act we find that it is a charming idyll in itself. It contains beautiful descriptions of sylvan scenes for which the Hindu mind has always evinced a strong partiality but its chief claim upon our admiration is the vividness of the parting scene between Sakuntala and her foster-father and the portraiture at once so true and poetic of the workings of the human mind on such an occasion. The sage Kanwa, an ascetic with his heart weaned away from all earthly affections is agonised at the parting and truly expresses his feelings when he says:

That she will hence has touched my heart with grief;
My throat is choked with rising tears suppressed;
My eyes are dim with thought. If such the force
Of grief a hermit's stoic heart can feel
At parting with a girl no kin of his,
What anguish would home-loving parents feel,
When first they part with daughters of their blood.

Again how true is the sentiment expressed in the following verses:

Oh! But how would such parting wring our hearts
But for the hope of future meeting

Kanwa as becomes a man and an ascetic checks his grief and follows Sakuntala a long way but when on the eve of departure she is dismayed to think how she could live without him, the sage with as much truth as sarcasm replies.

A worthy housewife and a monarch's queen
Your mind still occupied with grand concerns
Allied to regal state and mother proud
Of virtuous son like th' Orient of the sun
You will not grieve, my child, nor miss me long.

Sakuntala, like a true daughter, entreats her father at parting not to think too much of her and grieve himself on her account; but Kanwa replies:

How shall I cease to grieve when day by day
I view fast growing by the cottage door
The smiling plant that speaks your tender care.

Sakuntala leaves and in a moment Kanwa is himself again, gets the better of his temporary weakness and truly exclaims:

A daughter, truly, is another's wealth
And having sent her to her wedded lord
This heart of mine is free from anxious care
As if it had a deposit returned.

It is hardly necessary to add that these verses truly picture the feeling of relief which many a Hindu father enjoys when consigning their daughters to their husbands, care, and we are sure that the mind of Prospero felt the same relief when Ferdinand took the hand of Miranda. Indeed we feel tempted to point out the striking resemblances between the characters of Prospero and Kanwa but refrain from doing so for want of space.

The chief event of interest narrated in the fifth Act is the repudiation by Dushyanta of his marriage with Sakuntala. The strong moral fibre of Dushyanta which made him refuse to accept Sakuntala as his wedded consort despite the assurance given him by herself and all her escort makes us exclaim with the king's attendant "What a high regard has the king of virtue? The kings feeling at the moment of his repudiation cannot be better described than in the following lines which the poet puts into the mouth of the king.

Yet unresolved if ere this while this form
Of spotless beauty were by me espoused
I ponder yet, perplexed with doubt to taste
Or spurn her proffered charms, so like a bee
Hovering round the opening flower at dawn
Whose petals hold the honey and the dew.

This act also contains the following exquisite passages describing the responsibilities of a king and is likely to find favour with readers who have learned to quote Shakespeare's.

'Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.'
"The sun his steed once and forever yoked
Performs his daily circuit of the heavens;
The wind with odour charged moves day and night;
The serpent-lord for aye bears on his head
The ponderous earth. Such even is the lot
Of kings who from their subjects take a sixth.
* * * * * *
All men are happy with their wants redrest;
Not so with kings. Their wished-for object gained

Makes them less happy. True the object won
Doth quench their eager spirit; but still they fret
With taxing care to keep what they had won;
A kingdom like the umbrella in the hand
Oft gives more pain than it relieves against.

The following description of genuine benevolence is worth remembering.

Trees laden with their fruit bend down their boughs;
The clouds with vapour charged hang down their weight;
The good with wealth endowed grow not elate;
And such by nature is benevolence.

The feeling of a hermit reared in the solitude of the forest at the first sight of the busy capital of a monarch is happily described in the following verse:

The monarch, true, is noble in his ways,
Unswerving from the path of rectitude;
His meanest subject is not led astray.
Yet to my mind still reared in solitude
This crowded haunt appears a house on fire.

The sixth Act contains the poetical effusions of Dushyanta's brain disconsolate at the separation from Śakuntala and tortured by repentance at the thought of his having cast her off. The plot halts in this Act and with it, the reader's interest. Matali's reason for treating Vidushaka in the way he is alleged to have done reveals a side of human nature to which men always own an unconscious allegiance.

The seventh Act describes the happy termination of the plot where all dissonance is resolved into a rapturous harmony. The scene of the child battling with the young lion reminds us of the decoyed sons of Cymbeline bred up like mountaineers,

'Whose thoughts do hit
The roofs of palaces.'

and of Belarius' exclamation

'How hard it is to hide the sparks of nature!'

And now we have done. It were a superfluous task to multiply instances of the elevation of Kalidasa's genius, of the richness of his creative fancy, of his striking similes, of the melody of his stately verses, of his profound insight into the feelings of the human heart, of his appreciation for the beautiful in Nature and the sober majesty of his style. We cannot help regretting that a mind so richly furnished by Nature "with the vision and

the faculty divine," should have left but so few imperishable monuments for the admiration of posterity and we can confidently assert that if he had dedicated himself to writing plays and poems as the immortal Shakespeare had done and left more plays of the stamp of Sakuntala he would to-day be entitled to be styled 'the Shakespeare of India' in every sense of that expression.

S. SITARAMA SASTRI.

GENERAL IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICA.

LAST September I had the privilege of visiting America and spending a few weeks in some of the important cities of that great country; and I wish, in this paper, to give expression to some of the prominent features of American life and character that force themselves on the attention of even the casual visitor.

It must be remembered that when we speak of the American nation it consists of the most heterogeneous races and communities. A traveller wishing to have an idea of the varying elements that go to make up the American nation has this opportunity on board any of the huge Atlantic liners that ply between Liverpool and New York, or Southampton and New York. On board the S. S. Campania, in which I crossed over to America, there were over 600 steerage passengers, mostly emigrants to the United States. They were of all nationalities—English, Welsh, Irish, Scotch, German, French, Italian, Russian, &c. They were drawn chiefly from the poorer working classes, and did not appear to be the very best specimens of these classes either. The American Government is now taking precautions to keep out the refuse of the European population from their country, but it is nevertheless a fact that for more than two centuries Europe has been pouring into America the very dregs and offscourings of its population. Very remarkable indeed has been the transforming and uplifting influence of American civilization on these undesirable elements. According to a great historian three conditions are necessary to constitute a nation. They are a common language, a common religion, and community of interests. It seems to me that the community of interests, the outcome of American social and political institutions, has done more to weld together into a homogeneous whole the conflicting elements of the population than any other cause. The Government and social institutions, as well as the industrial civilization of America, all unique of their kind, have stamped the people with a marked individuality which it is most easy to detect.

THE AMERICAN CHARACTER.

One most prominent feature of the character of the American is his obtrusive patriotism,—a patriotism not begat so much of pride of birth, as is the case with an Englishman, as of an overweening confidence in the political institutions of the country. An American has an unbounded faith in his democratic system of Government. He believes implicitly in the "Gospel of the majority." He holds firmly, as an article of political faith, that so long as the Government of the United States is a Government by the majority, so long as the will of the people is law, the constitution can suffer no harm whatever. Every child at school is instructed in the principles of the constitution, which, in the eyes of the people, possess an eternal and immutable value, because they are supposed to embody the ideas of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. I spoke of American patriotism being obtrusive. The American tourist, whom you meet with everywhere in the world, is never tired of descanting on the rapid advance made in material civilization by America as compared with European countries, and one is sick and tired of the eternal comparisons instituted between things English and American, even in the most trivial matters.

A traveller from the Far East is of course struck with the fever heat at which life is lived in America. It is something oppressive the mad rush and excitement of life one notices in all the large American cities. This is, of course, a noticeable feature in European countries as well, but it is ten times worse on the other side of the Atlantic. The speed at which the trains and trolly cars run, the eternal rush of people in the crowded thoroughfares, and the feverish activity at places of business and in shops—all produce a most bewildering effect on the visitor from the Orient; and he begins to wonder whether people so much absorbed in material pursuits have any time to think at all. The Americans are undoubtedly a busy people; and their activity is the outcome of their highly developed commercial instincts and their passion for utility; but this one-sided objective activity has certainly its drawbacks. It tends to make the people prosaic; it robes them of all ideality; it compels them to apply a direct, practical monetary test to men and measures; "to assume that the men who have got on fastest are the smartest men, and that a scheme which seems to pay well deserves to be supported." This undue commercial activity affects even the

manners of the people. I missed very much in America—not of course in polite society but in ordinary business relations of life—the courtesy and politeness, not to speak of refinement, which are so conspicuous in the continental nations, more especially in the French. I cannot help thinking that in this respect the English are far better than the Americans, though they are themselves far behind the continental nations. The Railway official, the policeman, the tramcar conductor, and the clerk at the office, as we find them in England, are much more civil and obliging than in America. The Americans admit this national defect; but they seem to glory in it. One gentleman said to me: "Yes, We are not so polite as the English, but we cannot afford to be polite. We have not the time for it." Others again defend stoutly this want of courtesy on the ground of the democratic principle being deep-rooted in every working man. "The Railway official in America," said an American gentleman to me, "wants you to understand that he is your equal and not your servant." This spirit is no doubt highly commendable, but it is no excuse for any brusqueness of manner and even want of ordinary politeness.

The isolation and reserve so characteristic of the English and which make social intercourse so utterly hollow and insincere are entirely absent among Americans. Wheresoever Englishmen and Englishwomen congregate they are sure to be split up into a number of cliques, each divided from the other by artificial barriers, and each looking down upon the other. This is not so among Americans. Persons of all grades and classes mix together on a footing of equality, and, free from all detestable conventionalities, enjoy free social intercourse with one another. This quality of associativeness begets sympathy, and this, along with the special aptitude for organization the Americans possess, has been specially helpful in forming powerful combinations for political and other objects—a special feature of the country. The passion for organization is so great that where two or three Americans meet together they forthwith set about to form as many societies as there are members, and start an elaborate machinery for the working of such societies.

EDUCATION.

The most remarkable feature of American education is the absence of a central controlling department giving a unity to the systems of education adopted in the country. The American cabinet

has no member of education, for each State is allowed to introduce its own system of public education. A Bureau of education was established in 1867, but this is merely an agency for collecting and diffusing information on educational subjects. The freedom given to each State in the matter of education has been productive of a healthy rivalry, and we are not surprised, therefore, at the people, as distinguished from the governing authorities, taking an enthusiastic interest in the creation and maintenance of public institutions. In some of the Northern and Western States education is in a most advanced condition. Some of them not only provide free elementary and secondary education but also maintain free universities. The University of Michigan, for example, with 3,000 students, is a free University. The constitution of California also provides for a "system of common schools by which a free school shall be kept up and supported in each district, at least six months every year, after the first year in which the school has been established." Higher education is carried on by Colleges and Universities, which are all private foundations managed by corporations. Almost all these educational foundations are of recent origin. The oldest University is Harvard, founded in 1638 by John Harvard, a Puritan minister and graduate of Emanuel College, Cambridge. Yale University or rather College was founded in 1700; and Princeton in 1746 Other foundations for higher education are the University of Pennsylvania, established in 1749; Columbia College in New York, in 1754; and Brown University, in 1764. Among the Universities quite recently established may be mentioned Cornell University, founded in 1865; Johns Hopkins University, at Baltimore, founded in 1876; and the University of Chicago, which is still in course of formation. In the older Universities the residential system is enforced as at Oxford and Cambridge, but in the new institutions, chiefly maintained by the State, the students are allowed to live wherever they chose. There are nearly 400 Colleges in the United States in addition to the great Universities. The degree conferring institutions number as many as 343, with 4,670 professors and 67,623 students. It must be remembered that in America degrees are conferred not only by Universities but also by several of the large colleges. If we take University in the sense in which it is used in England, as a place where teaching of a higher order is given in the liberal arts, then, according to such a great authority as Prof. Bryce, not more than twelve, and possibly only eight or

nine of the American institutions, would fall within the definition. Most of the degree conferring institutions in America, he thinks, would answer more to the description of Grammar schools in England or *gymnasia* in Germany. The number of degrees conferred in one year is returned as being, in classical and scientific colleges, 7,185, and in professional schools, 3,296, besides 475 honorary degrees. "As regards the worth of the degrees given," says Prof. Bryce, "there is of course the greatest possible difference between those of the better and those of the lower institutions, nor is this difference merely one between the few great Universities and the mass of small colleges or Western State Universities, for among the smaller colleges there are some which maintain as high a standard of thoroughness as the greatest. The degrees of the two hundred colleges to which I have referred as belonging to the lower group of the third class have no assignable value, except that of indicating that a youth has been made to work during four years at subjects above the elementary. Those of institutions belonging to the higher group and the two other classes represent, on an average, as much knowledge and mental discipline as the poll or pass degrees at Cambridge or Oxford, possibly rather less than the pass degrees of the Scottish Universities. Between the highest American degrees and the honour degrees of Oxford and Cambridge it is hard to make any comparison." Some of the well-known Universities provide special facilities for post-graduate courses; and in the different departments of science original work of a very high order is being produced both by the students and professors. The education of women has been pushed on with marked vigour in the United States. There are over 200 institutions for the superior instruction of women, and about two-thirds of these are authorized by law to confer degrees. The system of co-education, that is the admission of women along with men in the same institutions, has been tried, more especially in the colleges in the West, and, according to competent educational authorities, it seems to have proved a success. The mixing of the sexes is reputed to have had a salutary effect on the manners and general tone of the students. There are some excellent technical schools in the country, such as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Boston), Stevens Institute of Technology (New York), &c. It is extremely difficult to make a general estimate of the educational condition of the American nation. If we are to

judge of it by the nature of the newspapers that constitute the daily intellectual pabulum of the masses, it cannot be regarded as very high. The American Journals compared with English Journals are very inferior in merit. Even the first class New York Journals pander to the sensational instincts of the masses, and give very little in the way of solid thinking matter in their columns. Prof. Bryce thinks that the Americans are an educated people compared with the whole mass of the population in any European country, except Switzerland, parts of Germany, Norway, Ireland, and Scotland; that is to say, the average of knowledge is higher, the habit of reading and thinking more generally diffused than in any other country. But he thinks the education of the masses is, nevertheless, a superficial education. "It is sufficient to enable them to think they know something about the great problems of politics, insufficient to show them how little they know."

SOCIAL LIFE.

On this subject I shall content myself by saying a few words about the position of women alone. Women hold a unique position in America, for nowhere does the idea that woman is man's equal so strongly rooted as in this country. In no country in the world are women made so much of. The wife owns, in her own house, a more independent and prominent position in America than in England. The women have found their way into almost all the professions more largely than in any of the countries of Europe. You find them everywhere, employed usefully as clerks, secretaries, doctors, lawyers; and several have even entered the Christian ministry. They form an overwhelming majority of teachers, and the opinion is gaining ground that for children women form better teachers than men. The intercourse between the sexes is more easy and unrestrained than even in England. Prof. Bryce says:—

"In the rural districts, and generally all over the West, young men and girls are permitted to walk together, drive together, go out to parties, and even to public entertainments together, without the presence of any third person, who can be supposed to be looking after or taking charge of the girl. So a girl may, if she pleases, keep up a correspondence with a young man, nor will her parents think of interfering. She will have her own friends, who, when they call at her house, ask for her, and are received by her, it may be alone; because they are not deemed to be necessarily the friends of her parents also, nor even of her sisters. In the cities of the Atlantic, it is beginning to be thought scarcely correct for a young man to take a young lady out for a solitary drive; and in few sets would be now permitted to escort her alone to the theatre. But girls

still go without chaperons to dances, the hostess being deemed to act as chaperon for all her guests ; and as regards both correspondence and the right to have one's own circle of acquaintances, the usage even of New York or Boston allows more liberty than does that of London or Edinburgh. It was at one time, and it may possibly still be, not uncommon for a group of young people who know one another well to make up an autumn 'party in the woods.' They choose some mountain and forest region, engage three or four guides, embark with guns and fishing rods, tents, blankets, and a stock of groceries, and pass in boats up the rivers and across the lakes, through sixty or seventy miles of trackless forest, to their chosen camping ground at the foot of some tall rock that rises from the still crystal of the lake. Here they build their bark huts, and spread their beds of the elastic and fragrant hemlock boughs ; the youths roam about during the day, tracking the deer, the girls read and work and bake the corn cakes ; at night there is a merry gathering round the fire or a row in the soft moon-light. On these expeditions, brothers will take their sisters and cousins, who bring perhaps some lady friends with them ; and all will live together in a fraternal way for weeks or months, though no elderly relative or married lady be of the party."

All this may sound very strange to an Oriental ; for he cannot understand such freedom of intercourse among the youths of both the sexes, accustomed as he is to the idea that the only safeguard for the virtue of a woman is her seclusion. I have often heard even Indians who have lived for some years in England, speaking in the most disparaging terms of the morality of the sexes in European countries ; and in Indian newspapers we often find it laid down with an axiomatic assurance that the Indian women are more chaste than their European or American sisters. Such conclusions are the outcome of an utter misapprehension of the ideal of womanhood that prevails in the West ; and my countrymen would do well to know that the reckless conclusions they arrive at as to the morality of the sexes in the West are due to a great extent to their distorted imaginations and their low ideal of what woman is capable of in the way of resisting temptations. Ruskin speaks of a sheepish kind of morality, a morality that is the outcome of a cloistered existence where temptations are unknown. Such a morality has its value no doubt, but it is a weak, sickly kind of morality as compared with the morality that results from a bold facing of the storms and tempests of life, and the overcoming of life's temptations. It is futile, therefore, comparing the chastity of Indian women with that of their sisters in the West. The conditions of life are utterly different. That an American girl is all the purer for her intimate knowledge of the world and for the freedom of intercourse she enjoys with the opposite sex is clearly shewn by the constancy and concord that are features of the average American home. Give women the highest and

most liberal education she is capable of, instil her with the principles of true religion and morality, and she will be proof against all temptations, and be all the nobler and stronger and purer for the freedom granted to her.

THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

An Indian visitor, who sets foot on American soil, after a sojourn in Europe, cannot help noticing the prejudice there is in that country against coloured people in general. This prejudice does not manifest itself in any opposition but in an isolation and exclusiveness which are at times embarassing. On the Continent of Europe and in England a dark skin is a recommendation for it ensures its possessor an exceptionally cordial treatment. An Indian visitor is most welcome at even the fashionable hotels in Europe and is often made much of; but in America an Indian is mistaken for a half caste, and as a rule finds it difficult to get admission even into the hotels. At New York where I was obliged to put up at a hotel, my friends had to come with me and explain to the proprietor who I was. An Indian friend of mine found it difficult to get a shave in any of the barber's shops in Washington. It is a mistake to draw any general inferences as to the attitude of the whites towards the coloured population of America from incidents such as these. The kindness and sympathy that Indians meet with from American friends shew that, as regards hospitality and cordial treatment of strangers, the Americans yield to no other nation in the world. In order, therefore, to understand the exact relation between the white and coloured population in America, one must realize fully the position that the negro held in American society before the abolition of slavery; and this, one who is not an American is unable to do. Before the abolition of slavery the negro was treated as no better than a brute. He had no social status of any kind. The restraining laws of bondage and the fetters of servitude kept him in a state of semi-barbarism and smothered all his higher aspirations. But since he has been made a free man and an American citizen the progress of the negro has been phenomenal, though it will be sometime before a radical change will be effected in him so as to fit him to hold his own with the free-born American. It was a desperate experiment the Government ventured upon when, along with the emancipation of the negro, there was granted him the gift of suffrage. The ballot has undoubtedly been one of the greatest educators of the coloured

people, for, in order to cast the ballot with a degree of intelligibility equal to that of the whites, numbers have been induced to sacrifice many comforts in order to learn to read and write. Several colleges or universities have been founded in the old Slave states solely for the use of the negroes; and in all the States common schools have been established for the negroes, distinct from those of white children. There are sixteen thousand negro school teachers employed in the South in the work of educating their fellows. In the Northern States the negroes enjoy even greater educational privileges. Some of them find their way into the higher universities, and even distinguish themselves remarkable there. Not along ago W. E. Dubois, a negro student, won not only the first oratorical prize, but a three hundred dollar scholarship as well at Harvard, "where the contestants are *elite* students of the white races." Of late, some of the leaders of the coloured population, realizing that the avenues to power and influence are open to those who have their education directed into a practical channel, have turned their attention to industrial education. In several of the Southern States the negroes hold conferences at which they discuss questions bearing on their social condition. This is what a Negro writer, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, says of one such conference:—

"The Tushegree Negro Conference, a gathering that meets every February, is composed of about eight hundred representative colored men and women from all sections of the Black Belt. They come in ox-carts, mule-carts, buggies, on mule-back and horse-back, on foot, by railroad; some travelling all night in order to be present. The matters considered at the conference are those that the colored people have it within their own power to control : such as the evils of the mortgage system, the one-room cabin, buying on credit, the importance of owning a home and putting money in the bank, how to build school-houses and prolong the school term, and how to improve their moral and religious condition. As a single example of the results, one delegate reported that since the conferences were started five years ago eleven people in his neighbourhood had bought homes, fourteen had got out of debt, a number had stopped mortgaging their crops. Moreover, a school house had been built by the people themselves, and the school term had been extended from three to six months, and with a look of triumph he exclaimed 'We is done stopped libin' in de ashes'!"

There is, of course, still a sharp line of demarcation between blacks and whites in America, and though there is no positive ill-feeling among the races, still there is a great deal of prejudice on the part of the whites against the blacks. That miscegenation goes on is evident from the number of light complexioned people we meet with everywhere, but the fusion that has gone on so far has been an illegal fusion. In some of the Southern States there

still exists a law making penal the marriage of a white man with a coloured woman. But such a law is on the face of it absurd, for it utterly fails to hinder that mixture of races which it is desired to prevent. "The very social ostracism," remarks pertinently a writer in *The Arena*, "into which it is intended to cast these unfortunate people will operate against those who profess to despise the negro. So long as the negro race is made to feel that it is 'despised and rejected of men,' so long will the coloured woman feel that she is socially elevating herself and her children by association with a white man, no matter if the connection be irregular according to the dictates of our Christian institutions. So long as the 'cultured Christian woman,' chagrined at the knowledge that negro blood flows in her veins, can exclaim, 'I would lie down and be flayed without a murmur, if I might only rise up white,' so long are the whites holding out the strongest temptation to every coloured woman, for her children's sake, to seek an alliance, however illicit, with a white man."

There are alarmists in America who are for ever raising the cry that the negroes are swamping the white population. There seem to be no ground for such a fear. A very competent authority, General Francis A. Walker, writing in the *Encyclopædia Britanica*, estimates the probable coloured population in 1900 at ten millions, out of a total population of eighty millions, and adds the remark that "considering the limited area of land in which negroes have an advantage over whites by physiological adaptation to climate, and the industrial advantage of the whites where climatic conditions are equal, it is doubtful whether there is room in the South for so large a population." Considering the inherent selfish nature of man, the privileges that have been accorded to the negroes in America redound to the credit of the nation, and it would not, therefore, do for a casual visitor to generalize recklessly on the treatment of the negroes by the whites, without taking into consideration the former condition of the negro. There are, of course, people in America who believe in the inherent depravity of the negro and his incapacity for improvement of any kind, but the history of the negro in America belies such a theory, for the events of the past century clearly shew that the negro has immense power for self-uplifting, though for years it will be necessary to guide and stimulate him. Christian philanthropists have done a great deal already and it is to them that the negroes can look up to for real sym-

pathy; for it is they that are guided by the principle which made Dr. Hall exclaim: "I do not care whether a man is black or white or yellow or chocolate-colored, if he has in himself the idea of Christ, of doing as Christ did when he sat by the well in this low world of ours. If he has time to visit the hungry, and the weary and the sad, he is good enough for me."

RELIGIOUS SPIRIT OF THE AMERICANS.

People in India have strange notions as regards the place that the Christian religion holds among the Americans. In a free country such as America, which has been the refuge of people with all sorts of views and opinions, there is no doubt considerable temptation to strike out new paths in religion and to try new spiritual experiments. But it would be doing a great injustice to America if we were to regard it as a land of strange sects and abnormal religious developments. It is true any one with an eccentric religious creed will be sure to secure a hearing and even a following in America, but there is no doubt of the fact, that, notwithstanding all such new departures, Christianity has a firm grip of the nation as a whole, "touching and gilding the imagination of the people, redeeming their lives from commonness, and bathing their souls in the light that never was on sea or land." The State of course recognizes no National religion. There is no Established Church in America as there is in England, notwithstanding this the state Governments do give to Christianity a a sort of recognized position. Each House of Congress has a chaplain and opens its proceedings each day with prayers. Prayers are offered in the State Legislatures and State Governors issue proclamations for days of religious observance. In some states the laws restricting or forbidding trade or labour on Sundays are rather stringent. As Prof. Bryce puts it: "Christianity is in fact understood to be though not the legally established religion, yet the national religion.... They (the Americans) claim the general acceptance of Christianity to be one of the main sources of their national prosperity, and their nation a special object of the Devine favour." The casual visitor cannot help coming to the conclusion that Christianity, so far as externals go, has in the United States maintained its authority and its dignity. Wherever he goes he meets Churches;—in the cities, in the villages, in the wilds of the Western States. He finds everywhere the clergy exerting

their influence in secular matters and the religious set taking the lead in all philanthropic movements. But to estimate properly the influence of a religion on a nation we should not look merely to external signs, such as the numbers professing the religion, the interest paid to theological questions, the habit of attending church, the production and sale of religious literature; though the application of even such tests point clearly to the more wide-spread influence of Christianity in the United States than in most of the countries of Europe. The influence of a religion is best tested by its effects on the character of the nation, and the way it moulds and directs life and conduct. On this point again the evidence for the influence of Christianity on the American nation is overwhelming. I cannot do better than refer here to Prof. Bryce's masterly work on "The America Commonwealth", which is considered to be the most impartial scholarly work that has ever been published on the subject. He is of opinion that Christianity is certainly the most potent factor in governing the life and in moulding the mind of the country. The ethical standard of the average man is the Christian standard. "The average man has not thought of any standard, and religious teaching, though it has become less definite and less dogmatic, is still to him the source whence he believes himself to have derived his ideas of duty and conduct." Then again in works of active beneficence no country has surpassed, perhaps none has equalled, the United States, and this beneficence is the outcome chiefly of the religious impulse of the nation. There is no country in the world that has not been benefitted by the philanthropy of the Americans and there is no country that owes this nation a greater debt of gratitude than India. It is Christianity that has supplied the emotional stimulus to this great nation, that has made them take the leading place in philanthropy and active beneficence among the natives of the world. I shall conclude with one more striking testimony from Prof. Bryce regarding the influence of Christianity on the American nation.

"There has never been a civilized nation without a religion, and though many highly civilized individual men live without it, they are so obviously the children of a state of sentiment and thought in which religion has been a powerful factor, that no one can conjecture what a race of men would be like who had during several generations believed themselves to be the highest beings in the universe, or at least entirely out of relation to any other higher beings, and to be therewithal destined to no kind of existence after death. Some may hold that respect for public opinion, sympathy, an interest in the future of mankind, would do for such a people what religion has done in the past; or that they might even

be, as Lucretius expected, the happier for the estimation of possible supernatural terrors. Others may hold that life would seem narrow and insignificant, and that the wings of imagination would droop in a universe felt to be void. All that need be here said is that a people with comparatively little around it in the way of historic memories and associations to touch its emotion, a people whose energy is chiefly absorbed in commerce and the development of the material resources of its territory, a people consumed by a feverish activity that gives little opportunity for reflection or for the contemplation nature, seem most of all to need to have its horizon widened, its sense of awe and mystery touched, by whatever calls it away from the busy world of sight and sound into the stillness of faith and meditation. A perusal of the literature which the ordinary American, of the educated farming and working class reads, and a study of the kind of literature which those Americans who are least coloured by European influences produce, lead me to think that the Bible and Christian theology altogether do more in the way of forming the imaginative background to an average American view of the world of man and nature than they do in modern Protestant Europe."

S. SATTHIANADHAN.

THE WIDOW MARRIAGE MOVEMENT IN THE DECCAN.

SARDAR Parasharam Bhau Patwardhan—one of the chieftains of the Peshwa—was the pioneer of this noble movement in the Deccan. He wished to re-marry his widowed daughter and to confer on her the blessings of a married life once more. He protested against the time-old custom and secured a favourable opinion from the Sastrees and Pandits of Benares. But unfortunately he died on a sudden and nobody cared to take up the movement! The movement has received a fresh impetus since our connection with the English. Western education and the preachings of Christian Missionaries have contributed much to awaken our sympathies for the hard lot of widows. In 1837 a pamphlet was published by two *Brahmins*, in which they quoted many extracts from *Shastras* in favour of widow marriage. Another book on the subject from the pen of a learned Shastree appears to have been published in 1841. A few books in the form of dialogues and novels giving harrowing descriptions of the deplorable fate of widows were subsequently written and published.

The late Pandit Eshwarchandra Vidyasagar had by this time done much for the movement in Bengal. He wrote a treatise on "Widow Marriage", and quoted therein many extracts from Shastras in its favour. He also proved therein the necessity of the reform from the social and moral point of view. He with the help of some leading gentlemen took the matter to Government, with the result that the Act XV of 1856 was framed and passed in the Viceregal Council. This Act lays down that widow marriage is in accordance with the principles of Hindoo Shastras and that the issues of such marriages are legitimate. Before passing the Law, Government consulted the Pandits of Benares who saw no objection to the legislation, and expressed their opinion in favour of widow marriage. To set an example, Pandit Eswarchandra married one of his sons to a widow. But the efforts of Eswarchandra bore no fruit. He first placed much confidence in the educated youth of his country. He thought that they were the only persons, who would reduce

to action what they thought and talked loudly of. As Eshwarchandra had much influence in official circles, many a youth flocked to him for serving his personal ends! The young men sympathised and helped him in his mission for a while; but no sooner their purposes were served than they turned their backs upon him!! At last it became his firm opinion that the new generation was quite useless, and therefore lost faith in it!!! In Bengal the movement is progressing with the work of the Brahmo Samaj, it having no votaries outside the pale of that Samaj.

On our side the movement found a sincere advocate and an accomplished leader in Mr. Vishnu Sastree Pandit. He received his education according to the old methods in his early years. He then studied English at the Poona High School. He was in Government service for some years; but being tired of his drudgery and dependence he soon freed himself from the trammels of that service. He then set up a newspaper called the "*Indu-Prakâsh*" and edited it very ably until his death. He was both a writer and an orator. His paper was the chief organ of his party in his life-time. He translated the work ("Widow Marriage") of Eshwarchandra into *Marathi*, and distributed it freely. Whenever he could spare time from his usual pursuits, he used to go to some well-known towns for delivering lectures on "Widow Marriage." His meetings were largely advertised, and the orthodox party was called to an open and free discussion. Vittoba-Anna, one of the vast-read Shastrees of those days, called him to Poona for discussion. He responded to the call and went to Poona in 1868. But Vittoba-Anna instead of coming to a discussion began to deliver public lectures against the widow marriage movement. Thereupon Vishnu Shastree also began to deliver public lectures, which were full of quotations from Shastras in support of widow marriage. His lectures had a very good effect on the audience which used to increase every day. The enthusiasm which the reform party showed at that time is beyond all description.

A "Widow Marriage Association" came into existence in the year 1866. It had among its supporters many men of light and learning. Appa Saheb, the Chief of the Jamkhindi State, was its President, and Umdetulmulka Dada Saheb Vinchurkar was its Vice-President. Vishnu Shastree was its Secretary, and Justice M. G. Ranade, the late Justice K. T. Telang, Gopal Rao Deshmukha, Shantaram Narayan, Narayan Mahades Permanand

and many others were its members. The orthodox party did not remain quiet. They organised a "Hindoo Dharma Vyavasthapak Mandali." The latter 'Mandali' held regular meetings, and gave as its opinion that widow marriage is against the Hindoo Shastras. It had its organs and preachers, its chief object being to undo the work done by the former association. A very hot discussion went on between these two rival parties for nearly three years. At last the reform party being tired of these hollow discussions resolved to direct its energies to popularise widow marriages.

It happened that a widow by name Venu Bai who had lost her father and mother expressed her desire to re-marry. Her two brothers having consented, she communicated her desire to the "Widow Marriage Association." Though the Association had many widowers on its roll, none of them had the moral courage to come forward to accept the proposal! Some of the organisers of the Association, who could have availed themselves of this opportunity to set an example to the rising generation, hid their faces, and when taken to task brought forth very lame excuses! An advertisement, therefore, appeared in the "Indu-prakâsh." It was responded to by one Mr. P. V. Karmarkar, a teacher in a Marathi School in the Khandesh District. Mr. Karmarkar came to Bombay, and the re-marriage was celebrated with great pomp and splendour on the 15th June 1869. The ceremony was graced with the presence of High Court Judges, Barristers, Pleaders, Doctors and many other prominent men, both Native and European. According to the local practice the sum collected from the well-wishers of the newly married couple on that day amounted to Rs. 3,000.

It would not be out of place to mention here that three widow marriages had taken place before this time. The first was in 1854; the second in 1865, and the third in 1866. As they were not celebrated very publicly and with pomp, they did not attract much attention from the public. To turn to our subject, the orthodox party was considering how to harrass the men who had helped the above widow marriage. The married couple together with the seven gentlemen who had signed the invitation cards and the two brothers of the bride were excommunicated, and letters were sent to *mofussil* towns for the information of Acharyas and Shastrees.

The other party contended that widow marriage was sanctioned by the Hindu Shastras, and that until it was disproved nobody had any right to ex-communicate another. There was a great correspondence on the subject in the columns of the "Indû-prakâsh." As many as 172 other persons had come forward to support the above view. The opposite party having realised the force of this argument, expressed its willingness to hold discussions about the legality of widow marriages according to the Hindu Shastras. They wrote to Shankaracharya of Karvir and Sankeshwar, and requested him to settle this delicate and important question. The Acharya complied with their request, and condescended to come to Poona in March 1870. The reform party was called to a discussion. Many Shastrees and Pandits were invited by Shankaracharya to Poona. The terms of the discussion were settled; but the great question was who should give the final decision. The reform party argued that Shrimat Acharya being adverse to the practice of widow marriage, would hardly be able to give a fair decision. At last it was agreed that the decision, which Shankaracharya would give, after going carefully through the discussion, should be binding on both the parties. Five men were appointed to represent each party. They were called '*Punch*.' Besides this a Sar Panch was appointed to give his opinion in case of an equal division of the opinions of the Punches. It was promised by Sankaracharya that no Shastree or Punch would be harrassed or ex-communicated, who gave his opinion in favour of widow-marriage in that discussion. The discussion began on the 27th March 1870 and lasted for nine days. It was strictly carried on in writing and was recorded by Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade and Vittoba-Anna Karhadkar. The reform party had yet to give many proofs from the Shastras in support of widow marriage. But Shankaracharya intimated that the discussion being sufficient, opinions of the Punches should be collected. The orthodox party got six votes while the reform party only four. Vyankat Shastree, a *punch* of the latter party, only through sheer pressure, gave his vote to the former party. This led to great troubles as will be seen later on.

Vyankat Shastree was an old gentleman of very good disposition. He had shown to Vishnu Shastree an authority from the Shastras in support of widow marriage. This authority was quoted by Vishnu Shastree in the discussion. If the orthodox party honourably claim the vote of Vyankat Shastree, they

ought to have refuted it or he ought to have withdrawn it. Naturally the reform party was anxious to gauge the sincerity of his opinion. They sent a Shastree to him. He candidly admitted in the presence of two or three other Shastrees that his opinion was till that time in favour of widow marriage, and that he had shown an authority from the Shastras to Vishnu Shastree to that effect. He also admitted that through pressure from Shankaracharya and other Shastrees he gave his opinion for the orthodox party. This whole scandalous affair was published by Mr. Gore in the "Dnyan-prakâsh." Thereupon the said party became very wild and took the aged Vyankat Shastree severely to task for giving out the secret. He was taken to Shankaracharya, and there they made him sign a paper denying all that Mr. Gore had published in the "Dnyan-prakash." This latter statement of Vyankat Shastree's was published in placards, and the writings of the "Dnyan-prakash" on the subject were condemned as mere falsehood.

Shri Shankaracharya then convened a general meeting to give out the final decision. Mr. Malvankar who was a great speaker was instructed to communicate the opinions of the *punches*. He, instead of sticking to the point, read the placard, alluded to the statements of Vyankat Shastree, and censured Mr. Gore for publishing lies in the "Dnyan-prakâsh." Mr. Gore filed a suit for libel before Dr. Fraser, the then Railway Magistrate. The reform party produced convincing proof for what Mr. Vyankat Shastree had acknowledged at his house in the presence of the two or three Shastrees as well as for foul words used by Mr. Malvankar against Mr. Gore in the meeting. The Magistrate having found Vyankat Shastree to be an old and good natured man acquitted him, but sentenced Mr. Malvankar to undergo simple imprisonment for 32 days. An appeal was, however, preferred to the District Judge, in which a fine of Rs. 100 was inflicted in lieu of the simple imprisonment. Those who gave false depositions in this trial were also charged and brought before the Court. Mr. Malvankar was one of the witnesses. The charge of falsehood having been proved against him, he was sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment. Besides this the editors of the "Dnyan-prakâsh" and "Indu-prakâsh" had filed suits against him for defamation. He asked apology of the formar while the latter out of pity withdrew his complaint. Vyankat Shastree who was also examined in this case acknowledged the fact of his showing an

authority of Shastras for widow marriage and his full belief in the truth of that authority.

I now leave it to the readers to judge whether the decision given by Shankaracharya was right and proper. On going minutely through the facts of the discussion it appears that his mind was biased from the beginning. He should not have considered the question, as he did, from the rigid standpoint of custom. Had he considered it from any other point of view, I am sure, he would have given a very favourable decision. But the sufferings of the downtrodden widow were not to end so early! Twenty-seven long years have rolled away, and yet the decision remains as it is! I think the question might again be placed before the *Jagat Guru*, and his favour be once more solicited on behalf of the helpless widow.

The moral weakness which some members of the reform party showed at this time had a very discouraging effect on the progress of this movement. They have not shown that energy any longer, which they did in the beginning. Their ranks were thinned. Four out of the seven men who had signed the invitation cards and were consequently boycotted, did expiation to re-enter the folds of their respective castes! The only men who remained faithful to the last were Vishnu Parasharam Ranade and Vishnu Shastree Pandit. The latter gentleman, to set a personal example, married a widow in 1874.

After the death of Vishnu Shastree Pandit, which occurred in 1875, the movement suffered a great deal. Though there was no energetic and sincere leader for a long time, the movement did not die out. It had in the meantime made its way among the Gujarathis. A "Widow Marriage Association" was established at Ahmadabad to help such widows and widowers as wished to re-marry. Madhavdas Raghunathdas, a rich Bania, married a widow in 1870, and in spite of bitter persecution, did his best to spread this new practice among the high caste Hindus. He built a "Widow Marriage Hall" and was always ready to ameliorate the condition of widows as far as he could. The spread of this movement among the Gujarathis is not a little due to his efforts. It has struck a deep root among the Dakshanis as well as Gujarathis, and there is no ground for entertaining fears about its premature death. About 70 widow marriages have already taken place, and the fresh vigour which the movement

seems to have gained during the last three or four years promises a very good future.

THE SECOND ATTEMPT.

The "Widow Marriage Association" which was founded in 1866 had died away through decay. A new Association, *viz.*: Vidhavâ Vivâhotejak Mandali, had come into existence in its place and shared the same fate. Another Association of the same name was again formed and is now amalgamated with the existing "Vidhavâ Vivâha Pratibandha Nivârak Mandali"—(Association for preventing opposition in the way of widow marriages). This last Association was founded in 1893, and has been since doing a very useful work. Its avowed object is to work on principles laid down by the late Eshwarchandra Vidyasagar and Vishnu Shastree Pandit; to encourage widow marriages amongst men and women of the same caste or creed; to perform such ceremonies according to the Shastras; and to take care of the progeny of such married couples. The one peculiar feature of the above 'Mandali' is that it has been started by men who have re-married in this way as well as by men who have at heart the well-being of such married couples and their children. It has at present nearly 600 members on its list and will, I hope, by its untiring efforts get many more in the near future.

Y. S. VAVIKAR.

RELIGIOUS RIOTS; THEIR CAUSES AND THEIR REMEDIES.

THE peace of India has been disturbed within the memory of the present generation by religious riots whose consequences, immediate and remote, have been too serious to be overlooked. Originating in causes apparently trivial and nourished by sentiments which will not bear scrutiny, the religious animosity of the Muhammadans and the Hindus ever smouldering like a hidden fire in their breasts and waiting for some extraneous cause to be fanned into a fearful blaze has often found its vent in the destruction of temples and mosques and in the cutting of each other's throats. Of late years these unhappy riots have been more than occasional, and it is as painful as surprising that every riot, however inconsiderable, that has come and gone has increased the discord already existing. It is hardly necessary to say that this state of things deserves to be looked into, that the causes of these persistent disturbances of the tranquility of the Indian public should be investigated and remedial measures suggested and adopted to check these unwelcome outbursts of religious animosity between two peoples owning allegiance to the same sovereign.

Now looking long back into the history of India we find that such riots were altogether unknown till India came under the British sway. This thorough immunity from outbreaks of such a malignant character cannot be attributed to the sameness of religious beliefs then prevailing among the different peoples of India. There were then the Buddhists, the Hindus and the Muhammadans, and their quarrels about their several faiths were as unabated then as now. The Hindus never possessed a martial spirit and they are now just as much afraid of being drawn into a quarrel as their forefathers were centuries ago. The Muhammadans have always been regarded as more martial than their Hindu brethren; and their belief, that the sword is the key to Heaven being as old as their Prophet was as strong centuries ago as it is now. In respect of religious beliefs and martial spirit the Hindus and the Muhammadans have long been what they are now. It may be true that the Hindus persecuted the Buddhists; it may be equally

true that in the palmy days of Buddhism after it became the state-religion under Asoka, the Hindus were, if not relentlessly persecuted, driven to a corner by the flowing tide of Buddhism. Probably the Muhammadans had a hard day of it when they were persecuted by Hindu kings who were zealots of the Hindu faith, and no doubt the Hindus were heartlessly persecuted by Aurangzeb who gave every Hindu official under him the option of losing his pay or his religion and who demolished many Hindu temples at Benares to furnish sites for the construction of mosques. But nowhere in the annals of Ancient India, whether in the Hindu, the Buddhistic or the Muhammadan period, do we hear of religious riots that could properly be so designated. The domineering religion supported by the whole weight of state-power trampled upon hostile religions in the field, which continually retired before it without a blow. Those ancient days never once presented the unhappy spectacle of followers of different religions in armed batches killing and wounding each other, the State feeling itself helpless to make peace between the combatants.

The conclusion we are driving at is strongly supported also by a consideration of the state of affairs in Native states, altogether independent or aided, at the present day. The States of Mysore and Travancore, whose population consists of peoples entertaining different religious beliefs with a tenacity nothing inferior to that evinced by their co-religionists inhabiting portions of India under the immediate sway of the British Government and similarly situated in respect of numerical strength, are entirely free from such visitations of religious fanaticism. Not that the Muhammadans in these Native states are less credulous in respect of the future reward of propagating the religion of the Prophet at the point of the sword than their faithful brethren in territories under the British sway, not that they are powerfully outnumbered by the Hindus in these Native states, and not that their long residence in such states has counteracted the development of their martial spirit and made them lag behind their brethren in other parts of India in that respect. Take again the Nizam's Dominions. The Muhammadans there cannot certainly complain of want of power. They are ruled over by one who is like them a follower of the Prophet. The Hindu population of the Nizam's territories is admittedly not in excess of the Muhammadan population. The Muhammadans there are quite like

their brethren in other parts of India in the matter of religious susceptibilities, martial spirit and general irritability of temper; and the Hindus there are exactly like their brethren elsewhere in India. But we hear of no religious disturbances in Hyderabad. There are Hindu temples and Muhammadan mosques, and the Hindus and Muhammadans go to temples and mosques there just as their co-religionists do elsewhere.

The process of elimination indicated by these statements clearly points to the one conclusion that the explanation of these shocking religious outbreaks, repeated of late years too often in the parts of India under British sway, is to be sought, not so much in the belligerent proclivities imbedded in the physical constitution of this community or that, not so much in the reciprocal and inveterate hatred of the contending communities, nourished and hardened by the bitter recollection of wrongs inflicted and endured, not so much in the uncompromising religious bigotry of the one class or the other, not so much in the future reward promised to those who die in the cause of their religion or who kill and slay for the purpose of propagating their favorite faith, as in certain principles based on policy or sense of fair play which the British Government has laid down as its guide in the administration of their eastern empire and which, the Indian subjects have been assured both by previous proclamation and subsequent conduct, would be uniformly acted upon. These riots are the concomitants of the British administration, and it is idle to look for their causes in those circumstances which had continued to exist for thousands of years without producing even one solitary instance of a riot, however inconsiderable. We are therefore driven to seek for their causes in the incidents of the British administration, and we shall not be long seeking for them.

It may seem paradoxical to say that foremost among the causes contributing to such riots is the so-called religious neutrality of the British Government of which the Indian subjects have been assured in the great and gracious Proclamation, the Magna Charta of Indian liberty. Indeed, it is well that a Christian nation, called by God to rule over the destinies and mould the fates of a country separated by fifteen thousands of miles of sea and land from their own and with a large population consisting of heterogenous peoples widely differing from one another in their social

institutions, political aspirations and religious beliefs, did not think it fair or justifiable to beat them into one homogenous nation by making Christians of them all, thus extending the banner of Christ *pari passu* with the flag of Britain. It is well too that the British Government resolved on abstaining from all interference with the religious observances and usages of its subjects professing diverse creeds and thus from being eventually tempted to throw the weight of the power of the state in favor of one of the several religions in the field to the utter discomfiture of the rest. It is well too that they have let all religions of India alone to stand or fall with the popularity of their cardinal tenets and to obey their own laws of growth and decay. So far the attitude of the British Government towards the religions professed in India has laid the followers of the various creeds under a deep debt of gratitude to it. The fact that prayers were offered in many important Hindu temples and mosques for the long life and prosperity of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Empress of India on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee is an indication as much of the heartfelt rejoicings of the Indian nation at the benefits conferred upon them by English rule as of that policy of religious non-interference followed by the British Government which made the offering of prayers in temples and mosques possible.

The principle of religious neutrality has so far been decidedly a boon. But the enunciation of such a principle with its unswerving observance has led to lamentable consequences otherwise. When it was once made known that the officers at the helm of Government were not to interfere anywise with the religious observances and usages prevalent in the country and that the subjects were at liberty to entertain any religious beliefs they chose without the apprehension of any molestation from the constituted authority of the state, the executive and the judicial officers in the Government service, sent down from England to India from time to time, easily learned to regard even a scanty knowledge of the various codes of belief followed in India as a superfluous, if not a dangerous, acquisition. What mattered it to them, bound to follow the principle of religious neutrality, how Hinduism or Muhammadanism viewed certain courses of conduct with approval or disapproval? To know even the cardinal doctrines of the various systems of beliefs might tend to prepossess them in favour of this faith or prejudice them against that

and eventually help the votaries of one faith against the followers of another. That was the very consequence which the Government wished to avert, and nothing could better conduce to the strict observance of the principle of religious neutrality than complete ignorance of even the most fundamental doctrines of the different creeds. This course, while it saved them the labour, however small, of learning anything about religions with which they were thoroughly unacquainted, promised them a surer prospect of discharging their functions satisfactorily on lines laid down by Government. Acting on this principle the officers under the Government refused to inform themselves of anything connected with the various religions, and strove to remain in utter ignorance of even their elementary principles. We can easily imagine the baneful effect that this studied ignorance on the part of such officers produced upon their administration of justice. Unscrupulous men took advantage of this ignorance which these officers in their veracity as Englishmen never cared to disguise, and actuated by motives of winning personal distinctions or by that hatred which delights in doing an injury to the enemy even without any benefit to one's self, approached these officials with loud complaints of fanciful grievances and prayed for redress. It was alleged, for instance, that the Muhammadan worshippers of a certain mosque were disturbed in the offering of prayers or were incurably hurt in their religious feelings by the God of a Hindu temple being taken in procession with music and tom-tom by the road on which the mosque opened and that as such conduct on the part of the Hindus might lead to disastrous breaches of the public tranquility the authorities should imperatively command the Hindus to stop all music just when the Hindu God in the course of the procession doubled the mosque. The followers of Hinduism made similar complaints. Now what was the Englishman-Magistrate to do? His ignorance of the tenets of Muhammadanism and Hinduism rendered it impossible for him to judge whether the Muhammadans were justified, under the accepted principles of their own creed, in complaining of the conduct of the Hindus, and whether the Hindus similarly were justified in complaining of the conduct of the Muhammadans. Nor could he afford to wait till he had sifted the truth of the allegations; for the breach of the peace was represented to be imminent. He was bound at any cost to preserve the public peace within his territorial jurisdiction. Then comes the

raw magistrate's sense of fair play to his aid. Equality, he knows or has been informed, is equity. He was therefore bound to disallow the prayers of both the factions or to grant them. This course, unfortunately, which the magistrate in his inexperience of the workings of the Indian mind pursued as best calculated to please both the contending factions, seldom pleased either: and each party made light of the victory it had won by misrepresentation and felt wounded at the concession shown to the adversary. Nor is there anything inexplicable in this fact of the dissatisfaction at the even-handed justice dealt them by the magistrate; for the unexpected withholding of privileges long enjoyed often offends more than the granting of unlooked-for concessions pleases. This dissatisfaction against the magistrate soon precipitates itself into a smouldering hatred against the party whose misrepresentation produced the undesirable effect and is against all time stored in a corner of the heart ready to blaze out at the slightest provocation.

A second circumstance which facilitates the commission of such riots is the fact that the European authorities in India have completely lost touch with the subjects over whom they rule. With absolutely no pretensions to even a smattering of the vernacular and altogether unacquainted with the ways and habits of the various kinds of people among whom their lot is temporarily cast and over whose well-being they are supposed to preside, they are generally ignorant of conspiracies hatched under their very nose and of systematic and elaborate preparations going on in their presence for riots. The practice of going about in assumed guises to ascertain the real wants and grievances of the people—a practice inaugurated by Hindu rulers and observed with real advantage by their successors—the habit of freely mingling with the subject-population and ascertaining by kind and personal investigation any causes of complaint or discontent and the habit of promptly attending to the redress of crying evils which made the names of some Englishmen in the early periods of British administration so dear to the Indian subjects, have been neglected and discontinued, and have now become an old tale. The English or European Judge or Magistrate now sent out to India does not regard this country as the land of his adoption, as his second home, as his predecessors a few decades ago did. With the immensely improved facilities of communication between India and England and with his natural disinclination to the tropical heat of sunny

India, the Englishman, old or young, goes home between the date of his appointment to the Indian service and the date of his final retirement from it—a period spanned by a few fleeting years—as often as the regulations on the subject of furlough would permit and as often as the inviting prospect of no work with munificent allowances tempts him to do so. It is no wonder that such Englishmen oscillating, as it were, between England and India and so nice in the matter of freely mingling with the Indian know more of the cool Indian sanitaria and the tigers and lions there than of the interior of their own territorial jurisdiction or of the rowdy characters that inhabit it. This attitude of Englishmen towards India and the people placed under them removes all apprehension of detection in the course of their preparations for venting their rankling discontent in dangerous riots, and the Magistrate is first aroused from his callous indifference only after much blood is spilt on both sides.

Another cause of the discontent that ripens into these riots is the inclination of the British Government to grant concessions to Muhammadans. Every well-educated Hindu, indeed, sees or ought to see that the Government in granting certain concessions to the followers of Islam is not doing so in view to drawing any invidious distinction between the two classes of its subjects, that it is not doing so to show its appreciation of the tenets of their religion, but that it is acting from mere commisseration at the intellectually backward condition of the Muhammadan community. The educational and other qualifications of the average Muhammadan do not allow him to compete with equal chances with an average Hindu, and the Government is probably painfully aware that with any concessions specially shown to him in the matter of qualifying himself to compete on equal terms with his Hindu brother, he may not be able to do so. It is but proper that the Government under the circumstances, with its catholic disposition to extend its patronage alike to all classes of people under its sway, should make much of the good points in the Muhammadan and ignore the bad in appointing him to responsible posts in the service. But it will be conceded that it is too much to expect the masses of the Hindu population to correctly diagnose the motives of the British Government in making such concessions to the Muhammadan community. To the minds of the masses the course pursued by Government appears to be

prompted, not by commisseration for the backward condition of the Muhammadan community but by a kindlier feeling on the part of the Government towards that class than to their own or even by a deliberate wish to coquette with a class admittedly possessing more of martial spirit than their own. This explanation, the only natural one under the circumstances so far as their discrimination and judgment go, imbues them with a feeling of hatred towards the more favored community, and their envy suggests to them the desirability, if they are to fill the same space in the eyes of their rulers as their brethren of the Muhammadan persuasion do, of demonstrating to their rulers that when occasion requires they can wield a club or any other offensive weapon with as much courage and ruthlessness as the Muhammadans. It may here be asked if the educated leaders of thought among the Hindu community could not counteract the growth of this mischievous tendency in the masses. But it must be remembered that such leaders are unfortunately very few and that they do not possess the necessary influence over the masses. The results of the spread of western civilisation, illustrated by the substitution of imbecile Pattamonigars and Village Kurnams in the place of the old village headmen whose word was law with the inhabitants of the village, have left the village mob without a leader by whom their erratic thoughts and movements could be controlled. Again the idea of self-sufficiency and consequent irreverence for others' views and opinions—one of the pernicious effects of Western civilisation on uneducated or half-educated minds—has blinded the eyes of the mob to 'the staid wisdom's hue' which the counsels of the educated leaders of their community always wore. The feeling of discontent created in the masses could not thus be checked by the sage advice of the handful of educated men. The growth of this disaffection could indeed be retarded to some extent, if not altogether, if the Government should condescend to publicly announce for the enlightenment of the illiterate masses, their reasons and motives for doing what the masses might naturally misconstrue into a curtailment of their privileges or an invidious distinction prejudicial to their interests. But the Government either under the impression that it owes it to itself to do what it deems fit without condescending to render any explanation to its subjects or in honest ignorance of the effect which its action might produce on the masses, has never followed this apparently easy course. The masses, therefore, uncorrected in their mistaken

appreciation of the motives by which the Government has been actuated in treating the Muhammadan community with apparent partiality, wait for an opportunity to vent their hatred of the Muhammadans and to demonstrate their martial spirit, and on the first occasion that presents itself grow disorderly and riotous.

Again another circumstance that favours the occurrence or recurrence of these disastrous riots is the wheel-within-wheel machinery of the British administration which makes prompt action in any exigency altogether impracticable. The peculiar misfortune of it is that as the machinery is constituted the authorities who are most in touch with the subject-population and have therefore the readiest means of collecting, sifting and using information in an emergency happen to be little better than mere channels of official communication furnished with no independent authority under the law to act upon such information. It is no wonder that in many instances where the lowest in the official ladder gets information of a storm brewing and forwards it with his own suggestions well calculated to avert its happening if promptly acted upon, such information having to pass through the zigzag folds of the official portfolio catches the eye of the person competent to deal with it and the suggestion thereon a good long while after that dignitary has read of the occurrence of the catastrophe and its disastrous consequences in some newspaper telegram. It is always desirable that the doctor who watches by the side of the patient and is commanded to diagnose the malady, should at least in case of emergency be authorised to prescribe on his own responsibility instead of being compelled to submit the results of his diagnosis and his intended prescription for the approval of another far removed who peruses the information submitted and only orders the same prescription to be followed. It is not far from probable that if officers of any rank nearest the place where riots were apprehended had been empowered under the law to execute their own suggestions to quell them, some at least of these much regretted riots would not have occurred.

Yet another cause of these riots is to be sought in the numerous religious and quasi-religious processions which have of late years become the fashion. The large and growing number of these processions is chiefly traceable to the right of using Her Majesty's highway for such purposes as often as one may desire at any hour of the day and with any amount of accom-

panying bustle, pomp or foolery—a right which the meanest of British subjects possesses with the highest. It is in the exercise of this right that the Muhammadans carry their God in procession through streets where all the houses on either side are occupied by Hindus and none by Muhammadans, with noisy pipes, gay colors, long cigars and boisterous effusions of devotion. It is in the exercise of this right that the Hindu carries his God in triumph doubling a Muhammadan mosque on the road, passing rather leisurely in front of it, with pipes playing, women dancing, drums beating and men sonorously chanting. Neither God considers it an insult at the hands of the other; but their followers do, whether their Gods do so or not. One party insists on the other stopping all music before the mosque or the temple as the case may be. The other party is exasperated and questions the objector's authority to question his taking his God in procession on Her Majesty's highway. They exchange words; from words they go to blows and thus without any premeditation probably on the part of either ensues a riot in which numbers may be killed, maimed or wounded on either side. It is but just that every subject of the Government should have, as such, an unquestionable right of using the highway; but there is certainly nothing unjust in imposing limitations upon this right in respect of the manner, extent or time of the user. Such limitations are imposed by the best systems of jurisprudence upon one's user of one's own private and exclusive property, and it looks rather astonishing that one should have greater rights in respect of the public highway than in respect of his own property.

Nor has the punishment provided for the commission of riots a deterrent influence on the party about to commit the offence. Not to say that men who are nerved by excitement to shed others' blood and even their own will naturally make light of a few years' hard labour, their little knowledge of law tells them plainly that one of two factions engaged in a riot comes, at the worst, no worse off than the other at the end of the trial for committing the offence. Whatever may be the law in theory, the offender well knows that practically he will not fare worse eventually than the person offended against, and this consolation, no small solace under the circumstances, is enough to make him chase away all fear of the penal law.

We have thus endeavoured with the fulness which our limited space will allow to investigate the causes of riots which

are of late becoming sufficiently numerous to attract anybody's attention. As for their remedies, the enunciation of the causes do in many instances indicate their remedies also; but we shall however suggest some remedies, not apparent from the foregoing pages, which our readers may take for what they are worth.

The first remedy we would suggest is the establishment of what may technically be termed "conciliatory boards" in or about all important religious centres where, on account of the population being composed more or less equally of people of different persuasions, the chances of religious disturbances are presumably considerable. These Boards should consist of the most liberal-minded and well-educated representatives of the different religionists composing the population and the nearest Government official empowered under the law to act independently and promptly in case of emergency. It should be the duty of these Boards to meet at regular intervals and to decide upon all questions connected with religion which, if undecided, might lead to disturbances of the public peace. The fact that the Boards are composed of representatives of different persuasions is calculated to make it sure that questions going up before it will be fully and fairly discussed. And the presence of the European Magistrate with no natural predilection for either religion gives one a reasonable assurance that, though the other members composing the Board persist in views favourable to the religionists whom they represent, the unbiassed Magistrate possessed of all information for coming to a just conclusion will throw his weight in support of the cause which he considers just. Whatever his decision, the followers of the different creeds would certainly have the satisfaction that their case has been fully represented and fairly considered, and their representatives on the Board would certainly advise strict obedience on the part of their constituents to decisions emanating from Boards of which they are members.

Should the Government apprehend any danger or inconvenience in recognizing such Boards as part of the constitution and investing them with any large powers, the end may yet be sufficiently served by recognizing them as consultative bodies to whose opinion the legally constituted authorities, empowered by law to act in such matters, should be directed to attach considerable weight. Even under this limited legislation, the contending parties would have the satisfaction that their case

has received a fair consideration at the hands of authorities, and the notion of arbitrariness and partiality attaching to such decisions and causing a good deal of heart-burning and dissatisfaction would be dispelled.

Another remedy that we would suggest is that the Government should prohibit the erection of new mosques, temples, &c., without a license obtained therefor from the Divisional Magistrate, within whose jurisdiction the new mosque, temple, &c., is to be erected. The Divisional Magistrate shall be directed to consider the following points before granting or refusing the license applied for:—(1) whether the bulk of the people living in the vicinity of the proposed site are of the same persuasion as that of the people for whose benefit the new place of worship is to be built. (2) Whether in the vicinity of the proposed site there is already in existence any place of worship resorted to by people of a different persuasion. (3) Whether it is absolutely necessary or highly desirable that the new place of worship should be erected on the proposed site in the interests of the worshippers for whose benefit it is intended. (4) Whether the chances of unpleasant collision between followers of different persuasions are materially increased by the erection of the new place of worship on the proposed site. The Divisional Magistrate should be empowered to refuse the application for license where on a consideration of these points it appears to him that the erection of the new place of worship in the proposed place is likely to lead, whether immediately or in future, to disturbances of the public peace. A right of appeal from such decision may be given to the party feeling himself aggrieved thereby, but the erection of the new place of worship without the license must be made punishable as an offence under the law.

Another remedy lies in the imposition of similar limitations on the right of people to use the highway for purposes of processions. This is admittedly an extraordinary use of the right, and can bear to be curtailed. We would however point out that any such limitations should not be imposed in respect of customary processions as that would apparently be withholding privileges long enjoyed with immunity. In respect of religious or quasi-religious processions to be started hereafter for the first time, it may be ruled that no such processions shall take place without a license from a Magistrate previously obtained; and the Magistrate should be empowered to withhold licenses

in respect of processions whose object, motives, or manner appears to him objectionable and calculated to cause a breach of the peace or wound the feelings of any religious community through whose quarters the procession must pass.

These are only some of the suggestions which we have to offer; but as the paper has already grown too long for an article we have to conclude here, in the hope that, if need be, we may revert to this topic in another issue.

THE COMING REFORM.

LORD George Hamilton's announcement in the House of Commons that a further step in the development of the system of provincial finance was under contemplation, will be received with pleasure by all that have given any attention to the history of financial administration in India. The arrangements by which the revenues of the Empire are divided between the Government of India on one side and the Provincial Governments on the other, have been for some time receiving more than usual attention, and the responsible administrators of the provinces have expressed in emphatic terms their disapprobation of the prevailing system, and have demanded a reform which will make the financial position of the Local Governments less liable to sudden and inconvenient fluctuations. On the occasion of the debate on the financial statement in the Viceregal Council in March last, the subject was fully discussed, and Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, speaking for all Provincial Governments, said: "If the policy of the present day is still one of decentralization in legislation and finance, let us for any sake devise a workable scheme." "The Provincial Government", he pointed out, "is bound to justify to its local Council and the local public financial measures which it is only allowed to criticize within hard and fast limits laid down by the Financial Department of the Government of India". It would be better for both parties, he added, "were their financial relations regulated as much as possible by automatic self-acting principles." The Hon'ble Mr. Syani, the non-official member of Bombay in the Council, entered into an elaborate criticism of the system and pointed out that "the present arrangements did not tend materially to promote provincial progress as was originally intended, but on the other hand, by dissociating power from responsibility and leaving the provincial administrations with uncertain and inadequate resources to meet the requirements of their respective provinces, have simply served to bring to the Imperial Government admin-

istrative relief, and a freedom from financial anxiety in respect of internal progress." His Excellency, the Governor of Madras, speaking in his own Council, in April last, remarked that "the financial condition of the Presidency would not be satisfactory until a larger degree of financial independence and control was conceded to the Provincial Government, and until some arrangement, more consistent, more permanent and less one-sided than the present contract system, had been adopted." It was the Hon'ble Mr. Nugent of the Bombay Government that compared the Supreme Government to the Assyrian swooping down on the provincial fold. The Governor General himself spoke in favour of reform, for he said: "I think myself that it is desirable to make as much as possible of the revenue of a Local Government consist of moneys which are entirely under its own control, and it may be well worth while to consider, before the termination of the new contracts, whether the Government of India could not devolve upon Local Governments the responsibility of levying some part of the revenue which now consists of allotments from Imperial funds." Sir James Westland was not averse to a consideration of the subject, though the changes he suggested, to which we shall refer later on, indicate that he takes a narrow view of the whole question.

What is the system that has brought on itself this chorus of disapprobation, and how has it been worked? It is enough for our purpose if we begin with the system as it was introduced in an improved form by the Marquess of Ripon in 1882, and trace its operation through the three revisions it has since undergone. Under that system, a fixed permanent grant was no longer assigned to the Local Governments as a part of their resources, but, instead, they were granted the whole product of some sources of revenue, and a share in the product of others, including land revenue. In calculating the exact proportion of these various sources of revenue for the quinquennium 1882-83 to 1886-87, the Supreme Government "wished to approach the question in a liberal spirit, and not to make any revision which would "be favourable to the Imperial at the expense of the Provincial "Revenues, except in cases where this course could be adopted "without embarrassing Provincial Finance, or checking the "growth of the material prosperity of the Province." The Local Governments were, at the end of the quinquennium which closed in 1881-82, in possession of revenue which, it was esti-

mated, exceeded by Rs. 470,000 the annual cost of the services for which they were responsible, this amount, instead of being reserved and used by the Supreme Government for its own purposes, was left, in pursuance of the liberal spirit it professed, in the hands of Local Governments, and gave them a further assignment of Rs. 26,000 a year, thus providing them with a surplus of Rs. 4,96,000 a year. Rs. 3,16,000 was to be devoted to the remission of taxation in the North Western Provinces, Rs. 20,000 to Provincial Public Works in Madras, Rs. 78,000 to various purposes, of which the most important was the improvement of the position of the Subordinate Civil Service in several Provinces, Rs. 10,000 to the increase of the staff of Kanungoes in Oudh, and Rs. 72,000 to meet temporary needs in Bengal, Burma, and the North Western Provinces and Oudh.

In 1884 an important alteration was made in the system of Provincial Finance. In the three years preceding that year the Local Governments had been spending the large balances that had accumulated during the Afghan war, when the Government of India had temporarily checked provincial expenditure, and also the Rs. 6,70,000 which the Government of India had withdrawn from them during the war and had subsequently refunded. "This abnormal expenditure suggested the adoption of a measure to prevent excessive fluctuations in the finances of the Local Governments, and with effect from the 1st of April in that year, a minimum was prescribed, below which the balance to the credit of each government was not to be allowed to fall, according to the Budget Estimate".*

The term of the agreements made in 1882 came to an end in 1887, when it was found that during the quinquennium the revenues assigned to the Local Governments, which were originally calculated at Rs. 16,376,020, had yielded on an average Rs. 17,352,966 a year, while the average yearly cost of the services paid for by the Local Government, which had been calculated at Rs. 16,812,340, had really been at Rs. 17,399,398. There had thus been an average deficit of Rs. 46,432, which was met from the balances held by the Local Governments at the opening of the quinquennium. The Government of India had now to meet serious financial difficulties, due to the decrease in the gold price of silver and growth of military expenditure, and opportunity was accordingly taken to revise the arrangements to its own ad-

* Sir Henry Waterfield's memorandum, Welby Com. Rept., Vol. II. P. 46.

vantage. A committee was appointed to examine the financial position of the each Local Government, so that the Government of India might be in a position to judge more accurately than on the previous occasion of its resources and wants. The general result of the revision was to transfer an annual sum of Rs. 6,35,800 from Provincial to Imperial Revenues, the estimate being based upon the increased receipts under the different main heads, and making due allowance for increased provincial demands. Roughly speaking two-thirds of this increase went to the Imperial and the rest to Provincial Governments. It was then pointed out that under the existing arrangements the Local Governments remained free from financial straits, whilst the imperial Government was passing through a stage of acute embarrassment. A special contribution was accordingly levied from all provinces except the Panjab, amounting in the aggregate to Rs. 7,40,000, to be paid in 1889-90, although hardly eighteen months had elapsed since the last contract was settled.

How the financial situation, which rendered necessary this inroad on the finance of the Provinces, was brought about, may be referred to here as showing the temptation to pursue costly undertakings which this liability of the provincial finance always holds out to the Government of India. In the year 1888-89, notwithstanding the addition of nearly Rx. 2,000,000 that new taxation was expected to bring, a deficit was estimated for, after including in the expenditure considerable sums for special defence works and for military expeditions, which were respectively Rx. 1,121,500 and Rx. 387,500 (the latter being Rx. 142,500 for the Black Mountain Expedition, and Rx. 210,000 on account of Sikhim, besides Rx. 35,000 on account of the Lushi Expedition. On January 27th, 1888, Mr. (now Sir) James Westland summarised the financial position thus: "The fall in the value of silver, the necessity of "improving our military strength and the expenditure connected "with the occupation of a new province (Burma) had absorbed "not only the three years' improvement of Revenue, but the whole "of the margin which we possessed in 1884-85. Every rupee of "the revenue shown in the estimates of 1887-88 was pledged, as "the financial statement put it, for the necessary expenditure "arising from our administrative needs; and for the risks of war "and famine and of exchange and opium nothing whatever was "reserved. Nay, more, we were pledged to heavy expenditure

"upon the defences of our harbours and of our North-West "Frontier; and this expenditure, all unremunerative as it is, was "entirely provided for with borrowed money." It was at a critical time like this that the Government undertook military expeditions to the frontier which cost more than half the amount that was extorted from the Provincial Governments; and Upper Burma has been from the day of its annexation down to the present moment a colossal white elephant, having cost India more than fifteen crores, not to speak of the contributions which other provinces are made to make towards the improvement of this province which the people never wanted and of which they never approved of the annexation.

At the end of the quinquennium during which the arrangements made in 1887 were in force, the sources of revenue assigned to the Local Governments in 1887 increased in value by Rs. 2,042,700. But the whole of this increase was not handed over to the Provincial Governments. The average revenue of the Provincial Government during the five years ending 1886-87 was Rs. 17,352,966, whereas the average revenue during the succeeding quinquennium was Rs. 18,528,506, the improvement being Rs. 1,175,540. What became of the balance of the total improvement of Rs. 2,042,700 in the provincial sources of revenue, if it has not been appropriated by the Supreme Government? Yet, during this quinquennium, important additions were made to the revenues of the Supreme Government in the shape of fresh taxation to the extent of Rs. 2,940,000 or nearly three crores of rupees.

The terms of the contract as revised in the present year involve injustice to the older Provinces—Bengal, Madras and Bombay—and other Provinces have been helped at the expense of these advanced Provinces. In the redistribution of the resources which took place at the revision, Madras and Bombay have suffered most, whereas the Punjab, the North-West Provinces, the Central Provinces, Assam and Burma have had special help given to them. The following table shows the increase in the scale of expenditure of the different Provinces between the years 1892 and 1897.

—	Net Expenditure.		Increase per cent.
	1892.	1897.	
	RX.	RX.	
Central Provinces ...	653,300	710,700	8·8
Lower Burma ...	1,064,600	1,206,100	13·3
Assam ..	467,600	564,900	20·8
Bengal ...	2,816,700	3,125,500	10·9
North-Western Provinces...	2,215,400	2,428,700	9·6
Punjab ...	1,384,600	1,537,500	11·0
Madras ..	2,054,800	2,238,600	8·9
Bombay ..	2,409,500	2,544,100	5·6
Total...	13,066,500	14,355,900	9·9

The above table shows that the increase of expenditure allowed in Bombay is the lowest, while in Madras and the Central Provinces the percentage is almost the same. But this does not show that the treatment of the latter two provinces is the same. On the other hand, in the case of Madras the increase of expenditure is only a fraction of the increase in her own revenues, whereas in the case of the Central Provinces the increase comes from general resources. "The Central Provinces have been hard hit by two or three bad seasons, and they have been disappointed in the increase of revenue which they might reasonably have expected. We found it necessary to assign to them a slightly higher amount than they would have got had the 1892

settlement continued in force. Their balance has been absorbed by their necessary expenditure somewhat exceeding their revenue, and their misfortunes of the current year have, quite apart from famine, entirely swept away their available resources. We reckon we increase their assignment by Rs. 29,200 a year; and we have also to make up a small deficit in their balance." Similarly to the Punjab and the North West Provinces increased assignments are made. In regard to the last the Finance Minister says: "We have carefully reviewed the requirements of the Province in the way of expenditure, and we have come to the conclusion that we must enhance its assignment by nearly as much again as the five lakhs by which the assignment of 1892 fell short of the admitted standard of expenditure. We have, in addition to this, made it a grant of four lakhs for the year 1897-98 to enable the Lieutenant-Governor to establish his district funds on a financially independent basis, this step which has been long ago accomplished in every other province in India, not having been yet been carried out in the North West Provinces." (In Madras the district funds have not been established from a grant from general revenues, but from the proceeds of a cess laid on the land revenue).

Although Bengal has been treated better than Bombay or Madras, yet all the three have suffered for the fault of their being comparatively wealthy and progressive. The Finance Minister wrote as follows in March last:—

"We come now to the important and wealthy maritime provinces of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, towards which the commercial wealth and the industrial progress of India tend to accumulate. To them we naturally look for obtaining the means for that redistribution of resources which, to again quote Sir E. Baring's Financial Statement of 1882, is one of the objects of the quinquennial revisions; 'It is indeed obvious,' he said, 'that, in view of the manifold demands on the Imperial treasury, and the necessity for affording relief to provinces whose means are straitened, the Government of India cannot forego all its claims on the increments of revenue which arise from the growing wealth and prosperity of the country.' The mention of the balances of the provincial account in these three great provinces, from 31st March 1892 onwards, will show that they may reasonably expect, with a slightly smaller assignment of revenue than at present, to continue their past career of financial prosperity. The balances in Bengal were, in lakhs of rupees, 23½, 22½, 26, 43, 58; in Madras 42, 26, 29, 38½, 43; in Bombay 41, 38, 40, 30, 40; and since in each case the local Government was at liberty to estimate for the expenditure of all excess over 20 lakhs, it may be taken that their present scale of expenditure is not the result of any specially enforced economy.

"We have carefully examined both the revenue and the expenditure of each of these provinces, and we propose to allow in the present assignment for the

actually existing scale of expenditure. The following figures compare the rate of growth of revenue with that of growth of expenditure :—

	Increase of Revenue from 1892 to 1897.	Increase of Expenditure now allowed.
Bengal ...	9·6 per cent.	10·9 per cent.
Madras ...	14·9 "	8·9 "
Bombay ...	10·0 "	5·6 "

"As regards the effect on the provincial accounts as compared with that of a continuation of the present assignment, the facts are:—

(1) In Bengal we resume a special grant which fluctuated with the earnings of the Eastern Bengal Railway (which is not under provincial administration), and we give Rs. 269,400 in lieu of it. The railway grant was given in 1892 as the equivalent of Rs. 320,000, though, if renewed now on the same terms, it would be worth to the Lieutenant-Governor very much more.

(2) In Madras the assignment is less than that of the 1892 settlement by Rs. 98,200 or Rs. 1,38,200, according as the local Government's estimate of land revenue or that of the Government of India is ultimately adopted.

(3) In Bombay it is quite impossible to say what the difference is. If the revenue in the future is to be as seriously reduced as the Government of Bombay estimates, the new settlement is practically a continuation of the old one. But we hope, when present troubles are over, to find the standard of revenue much higher than the Government of Bombay puts it."

The terms, as sketched above, of the so-called contract between the Supreme Government on one side and the Provincial Governments on the other at each of its revisions, will give an idea of the defects in the existing system; and they justify the discontent it has caused among all local Governments. The objections against the existing system have been well put forward by different speakers, official and un-official, in the Viceregal Council, and by the Bombay and Madras Governments separately. The uncertainty characterising the resources of the Provincial Governments under the existing system, the temptation to the Supreme Government to increase its expenditure relying on the balances of the Provincial Governments, and the sacrifice which the more advanced provinces are called upon from time to time to make for the more backward provinces, are among the chief objections to the present arrangements.

Mr. Stephen Jacob contended in his supplementary evidence before the Indian Expenditure Commission that it was not a fact that the Supreme Government took a greater proportion of the increases in the revenues than it allowed to the Provincial Governments. But his evidence does not refute the obvious infer-

ence from the following table prepared from Sir Henry Waterfield's figures placed before the Commission:—

Year.	Total Net Rev.	Provincial Net.	Imperial Net.
	In crores of Rupees.	In crores of Rupees.	In crores of Rupees.
1882-83 ...	41·79	10·98	30·81
1883-84 ...	41·66	10·83	30·83
1884-85 ...	41·90	11·62	30·28
1885-86 ...	45·43	12·27	33·16
1886-87 ...	44·55	12·12	32·43
1887-88 ...	47·37	12·35	35·02
1888-89 ...	46·44	12·52	33·92
1889-90 ...	47·34	13·10	34·24
1890-91 ...	45·66	12·64	33·02
1891-92 ...	49·50	13·60	35·90
1892-93 ..	52·43	13·40	39·03
1893-94 ...	51·87	13·33	38·54
1894-95 ...	52·74	13·13	39·61
Increase in 1894-95 over 1882-83 ...	10·95	1·15	8·80

From this the inference is obvious that a greater proportion of the increase in the revenues goes to the Supreme Government, which uses the addition to its resources to meet the cost of the increased army and of military enterprises which have of late become too numerous and proved ruinous to our finances.

Sir James Westland says in his last financial statement that Government looks to the wealthy maritime provinces of Bengal, Bombay and Madras for obtaining the means for that redistribution of resources which is one of the objects of the quinquennial revisions. If such is the object of the quinquennial revisions, these provinces would cry, 'save us from these revisions.' There is no reason why Peter should be robbed to pay Paul; why the people of Madras should be taxed in order that Burma, Beluchistan or even the Punjab may be prosperous. The chief principle should be that each province should rely on its own resources for its advancement. It is enough that the different provinces constituting the Empire have to pay for the common needs of the Empire, for its protection against foreign invasion and for its internal peace and order, for its common indebtedness and for such other purposes as involve the common well-being of the whole.

But if the Punjab wants more money for its education, or Burma for its railways, or the Central Provinces for some other purpose, it is absolutely unreasonable that Madras, Bombay and Bengal should be made to find the money. England's Empire in Asia will go on expanding on all sides, and is the ryot of Madras to be taxed to find the cost of developing every fresh acquisition? How do the Native States develop? The Imperial Government gives them no help. For their railways, for their public works, for all the needs of their progressive administration, they find the money from their own unaided resources. Why should not the different British Indian provinces get on likewise?

The best system of Provincial Finance was indicated by Lord Elgin in the Viceregal Council and by the Governor of Madras in his own Council. Lord Elgin is of opinion that it is desirable to make as much as possible of the revenue of a Local Government consist of moneys which are entirely under its own control." Sir Arthur Havelock longs for a system which will be less onesided and will give to Local Governments more independence. More than ten years ago a system of this kind was suggested by the Finance Committee appointed by Lord Dufferin. This Committee, which consisted of Sir Charles Elliott (as President), Sir W. W. Hunter, Mr. Justice Cunningham and Mr. Justice Ranade (as Members) recommended the following proposals as an improvement on the existing system. 1. That there should be no divided departments, but that those departments of receipts and expenditure which are now wholly or almost wholly imperial or which it may be found convenient to make imperial, should be set on one side for imperial purposes, and that the receipts and expenditure of the provincialised departments should be entirely provincial. 2. That whatever the sum be by which the imperial expenditure exceeds the income from those sources of revenue which are not provincialised, that sum should be declared the first charge on the provincial revenues. 3. That the provincial surplus which arises from the excess of receipts over expenditure should be the fund from which in the first place, all imperial necessities should be met before any increase can take place in provincial expenditure. And 4. As regards the future growth of revenues, it should, as far as possible, be divided equally between Provincial and Imperial, subject to the condition that if the imperial exigencies ever required a larger share, the imperial share should be increased. This Committee further proposed that

in pursuance of this arrangement the following receipts and charges should be declared imperial: Receipts—opium, salt, customs, tributes, post office, telegraph, mint, interest or debt and superannuation; charges—state and guaranteed railways, military works, army, exchange and home charges. The Government of India was also to bear the charges and receive the revenues of the Imperial districts, *i.e.*, the parts of India which are not included in the provinces. On the other hand, the Committee proposed that land revenue, stamps, excise, assessed taxes, forests, irrigation, and the civil departments, should be wholly provincial, such heads as stationery, printing, miscellaneous and railways, canals and other public works such as were already provincial continuing to remain so.

Without endorsing these proposals in their entirety, we may state that any reform in the direction of a further development of the system of provincial finance should be based on these principles. In other words, certain sources of revenue should be declared entirely Imperial, and the Imperial Government should honestly endeavour to keep its expenditure within this amount, and any excess of unavoidable expenditure over the receipts should be met by contributions in lump sums from the different provinces. Other sources of revenue declared provincial, should be entirely under the control of the Provincial Governments, which should have, ordinarily, the full benefit of the increases from time to time. Subject to the control of the Supreme Government—a control which under any system should be fully maintained—the Provincial Governments should have power to increase or remit taxation within their own sphere.

I shall conclude this paper with a few remarks on the proposals which Sir James Westland made while speaking in the Viceregal Legislative Council in March last with a view to place the system of provincial finance on a more satisfactory basis. To these proposals Mr. Stephen Jacob referred in his supplementary evidence before the Indian Expenditure Commission, and said that though they were in an embryo state and the Government had not adopted them, they would certainly receive consideration. It is very important that these proposals should be placed before the public and that their defects pointed out. They were laid down by Sir James Westland himself as follows:

"Now it strikes me that it would be well to separate off the whole of this class of expenditure, whether it is met out of local

taxation, or whether it is, as at present, largely met out of the general revenues, into a separate account, and, in respect to that separate account, to make a permanent assignment from general revenues to the Local Government. There would be no revision wanted in a contract of that kind. If, for example, we found that we could separate off the whole of that expenditure as it stands in Bengal, we would say that for this expenditure a certain definite sum fixed once for all would be given out of general revenues, in addition to local taxation, to cover the whole amount; then we might make that portion of the account an absolutely separate one. We would treat it as a separate branch of finance under the Local Government and under the Local Councils. The result would be that the Local Councils, when they pressed, as they are constantly pressing (and I do not in the least degree wish to indicate that their action in pressing is unreasonable on their part), but when they press for expenditure of that kind they would know that they would have to find the means for it by some sort of local taxation. That is the theory of financial control and responsibility; the whole theory is that those who press for expenditure should know that they will have to bear the burden of it."

The theory, no doubt, is sound, and we think the Local Governments would be perfectly satisfied if they were given a fair scope for the exercise of the responsibility they are willing to bear. It is because they are given the responsibility for the progress and well-being of their provinces—a responsibility which has been made considerably keener since the recent reconstitution of the Legislative Councils—and are refused adequate resources to meet that responsibility from, that the existing system has caused such general dissatisfaction. Let us see whether the present proposals are calculated to do full justice to the Provincial Governments as chief guardians of the civil welfare of the population within their jurisdiction. Under the proposed arrangements the Provincial revenue and expenditure would be separated in every province into two classes, one being the general account, that is, the provincial branch of the Imperial account, and the other the Local account. In regard to the general account, the existing system will continue, that is, the revenue and expenditure represented in this account, will be subject to periodical revision as at present. But in regard to the local account, the revenue will consist of the proceeds of certain entirely local

taxes and a lump assignment from the Imperial revenues subject to no periodical increase or decrease. Local taxes are now levied for local purposes, but the Provincial revenue as well as the purely local revenue is applied for these purposes. Local Boards bear only a portion of the expenditure for medical purposes, for educational purposes, for roads, and various other things, and this is the class of expenditure, Sir James WESTLAND reminds us, in which Local Councils are most urgent. It includes a class of expenditure which is most urgent in many provinces, namely, that of sanitary improvement. But, as matters stand at present, the local taxation is nowhere equal to meet the whole of this expenditure, and the consequence is, Sir James WESTLAND points out, that when the Local Governments are pressed to find funds for this class of expenditure, they demand increased assignments from the revenues at the disposal of the Supreme Government. This Sir James WESTLAND wants to stop. If more funds be wanted, he would drive the Local Governments and Local Councils to local taxation and to increased burdens on Local Boards, the contribution from the Supreme Government for this class of expenditure being fixed and permanent.

Regarding these proposals I here content myself with the remarks I made in an article in the *Hindu*.

"Now, we must say these proposals are good so far as they go. But, they certainly do not go far enough and would not meet the objections which the Local Governments have raised against the existing system. These governments are at present responsible not merely for the class of expenditure mentioned by Sir James WESTLAND, but also for other heads of expenditure either wholly or partially, such as Land, Revenue, Stamps, Excise, Customs, Assessed Taxes, Forest, Registration, General Administration, Law and Justice, Police, Jails, Famine Relief, Irrigation, &c. And it is obvious that so far as these heads of expenditure go, the defects of the present system will remain, under Sir James WESTLAND's proposals, unremedied. In calculating however the expenditure in which Local Governments are pressed by local public opinion for constant increase, we do not think Sir James WESTLAND has erred on the side of liberality. The local public are no doubt deeply interested in expenditure on Education, Medical Relief and Sanitation, but they are equally interested in a cheap and improved system of judicial administration, in an honest and efficient Police, in a popular system of Forest administration, in prompt and effective measures of relief in times of famine which unfortunately recur at short intervals, and in the extension of a certain class of irrigation works. The Local Governments should be placed in possession of funds sufficiently elastic for these purposes ; and in regard to these as well as the others indicated by Sir James WESTLAND, these Governments should be given greater independence. The fixed assignment in a lump, as proposed by the Finance Minister, would be, we suppose, available

only for the purposes specified, and the Local Government will have its scope considerably narrowed for the efficient discharge of its general responsibility, The proposals would have the effect of the Local Government being constantly tempted to have recourse to increased taxation, while it will have no scope for counteracting, by remission of taxation, the unpopularity it will necessarily incur. Increased expenditure can be met, not merely by adding to the burden of taxation, but by effecting economies and adopting retrenchments in expenditure. The proposals under consideration place at the disposal of the Local Government the odious method, that of adding to the burden of taxation, but withholds the other two popular means of finding money. The radical defect in Sir James WESTLAND's plan is, that he assumes that it is the Provincial Governments that require to be checked against thoughtlessly increasing their expenditure. But, as a fact, these Governments are more amenable to public opinion and command greater confidence. The people understand better the purposes for which Local Governments spend money, and are therefore in a better position to pass effective criticisms on these branches of local administration. It is not therefore the Local Governments, but it is the Supreme Government that is in need of the check which an improved system of financial administration will impose on the expenditure of public funds. Instead of the Provincial Governments receiving, in addition to certain sources of revenue declared wholly provincial, a fixed grant in lump from the Supreme Government, it is to the latter that a system of this kind should be made applicable, so that whenever it makes up its mind to glorify itself by costly military enterprises, it should have no resource but borrowing or additional taxation to fall upon; should have no famine protection fund to misappropriate, no provincial balances to sweep away, and as few heads of expenditure as possible to contract in order squeeze out the required money."

G. SUBRAMANIA IYER.

THE "RAGHUVAMSA OF KALIDASA.'

IT has occurred to me, on a perusal of the learned and thoughtful article on "Kâlidasa" which appeared in the last number of the *Madras Review*, to write a short descriptive account of the work "Raghuvamsa," which is acknowledged by all competent scholars as the best production of "Kâlidasa" in the domain of poetry. The literary reputation of "Kâlidasa" as the foremost poet of our classic land of Arya-Varta, is too well known to Hindu scholars to need any lengthy discussion, but as truly observed by the writer of the article aforesaid, this poet of peerless intellect, "the chosen favourite of the Divine Saraswati," has not received from oriental scholars who are not Hindus, the full measure of literary commendation which is justly his due. Any contribution, however humble, to the existing critical literature on the subject of the poetic supremacy of Kâlidasa must, therefore, be a matter of some interest and importance. The works of "Kâlidasa" are a veritable mine of literary wealth in which thoughts, the most sublime, and diction, the most charming, lie imbedded side by side to delight and enlighten the privileged few who are able to dive into them sufficiently deep. Indeed, a single verse of Kâlidasa very often displays ethical and moral wisdom such as is calculated to do honor to a host of modern poets.

It is chiefly in his descriptions of natural objects and sceneries, and the tender sentiments of the human heart, that his admirable poetic powers are seen at their best. Like Wordsworth, he looked upon Nature with the eye of a lover, and his knowledge of the physical laws under living Nature was superior to that of any other Hindu poet. Megha-duta, Kumara Sambhava, Sakuntala and Raghuvamsa contain passages in them, which display a knowledge of natural history, highly creditable to the acuteness of the Hindu intellect. These works are also living monuments of Kâlidasa's unrivalled powers of delineation of human character and sentiments. Of these works, the foremost place must be assigned to "Raghuvamsa," alike for the grandeur of its subject matter and for its artistic beauty. It is a historical poem of 19 cantos describing the history of the "*Raghuvamsa*"

i. e., the kings of the solar dynasty beginning with Dileepa and ending with Agnivarna. The period covered by the history is not a long one being only the reign of a few kings, but the poet, by the amplitude of his descriptions of scenes and events, and his wealth of illustrations and similes interspersed with ethical and philosophic reflections, has made it pretty long in narration. Shortly stated, the outline of the history is as follows :—

In the Solar Dynasty of Hindu kings, descended from the celebrated Menu (Vyvaswata), was Dileepa, a king adorned by all the best qualities which make a successful ruler. Though blessed with all the most desirable earthly possessions, one important factor was still wanting to fill up the full measure of his happiness as a devout Hindu ; and that was, the birth of a son. Smarting under this affliction of "soulessness" (Anapathiam) which to a Hindu is pregnant with dire consequences, he accompanied by his Royal spouse went to the holy hermitage of his "Kulaguru," the great "Vasishta," and besought him to remove this affliction by means of his psychical powers. Vasishta by his "Pranidhanam" (introspective contemplation) understood the true cause of the king's "soulessness" to be a curse hurled at him by the celestial cow, "Kamadhenu," and accordingly instructed the king, in expiation of the sin incurred by him, to propitiate "Kamadhenu," and failing her, her offspring "Nandini." Kamadhenu not being then available, Nandini was given by Vasishta to the king, and the latter was enjoined, by means of dutiful service and respectful worship, to propitiate her and to secure her blessings. Accordingly, this great king, the wearer of a mighty diadem, tended the celestial calf (Nandini) in the forest for some days assuming the humble "role" of a faithful servitor, and anxious to please her by indefatigable services most respectfully rendered. Nandini, after trying his mettle by means of "coup-de-main" cleverly arranged, was at the end convinced of the unfeigned sincerity of the king's respect and devotion towards her, and she gave him her blessings for the birth of a son. The king's wife, the Royal "Sudekshina" conceived soon after, and gave birth to a son, and that was "Raghu," one of the greatest and most famous kings of the Solar Dynasty. When Raghu attained majority, king Dileepa conferred upon him the functions of a "Yuvaraj," and with the help of the latter's extraordinary valour and martial qualities, achieved the rare honor of performing 99 "yagams" approaching the glory of Indra ("Sathakrethu").

in this respect. When he grew old, Dileepa, in accordance with the traditionary usage of his race, installed his son "Raghu" on the throne, and betook himself with his wife to a life of holy retirement in the forest ("Vanaprastham") with a view to spend the evening of his virtuous life in divine contemplation and piety, free from the cares and turmoils of the busy world. Raghu, soon after he became king, went on a glorious expedition of conquest round the world (Dig-Vijayam), and invaded not only the important kingdoms of Hindustan, but also foreign countries. Returning in triumph from his military expedition with a vast horde of wealth and a large number of vanquished kings following his chariot-wheels, he celebrated a great "Yagam" (Viswajit), and in accordance with the injunctions of Dharma Sastras, spent the whole of the wealth acquired by means of his military conquests, in pious and charitable gifts connected with that "yagam." So completely did he, by means of his gifts, deprive himself of all his wealth in the pursuit of virtue, that when "Koulsa," an ascetic student, paid him a visit afterwards soliciting a gift, he, the whilom conqueror of mighty kings, had only a *mud* vessel in his possession to honor his guest with. When the hermit urged his request for a gift and explained its urgency, the king showed by his conduct his heroic and sublime character. He at once went to *Kubera*, the celestial lord of wealth, and by dint of his universally acknowledged prestige, got from him (Kubera) wealth more than sufficient to satisfy Koulsa's wants a hundred-fold; and at this display of the king's superhuman ability and magnanimity, Koulsa was filled with wonder and astonishment. Overwhelmed with joy and gratitude, he gave the king his blessings for the birth of a worthy son. Shortly afterwards was born "Aja," the worthy son of a worthy father. He married "Indumathi," the daughter of the king "Viderbhas" in a "Swayamvaram" (selection of husband by the bride according to her own fancy). In the description of this "Swayamvaram," Kâlidasa has shown to the best advantage his inimitable powers of delineation of human character and physical loveliness. After the marriage of "Aja," Raghu, who had by that time attained old age, full of honors and virtue, delivered the reins of Government into the hands of "Aja" and, agreeably to the traditions of his noble ancestors, betook himself to a life of religious devotion. "Aja" then ruled the kingdom, and to him was born "Dasaradha," the father of "Sri-Rama" of glorious renown.

Aja soon afterwards lost, in an accident, the beloved partner of his joys and sorrows, the lovely "Indumati," and his heart-rending lamentations over her untimely death are described by Kâlidasa with such exquisite pathos and in such tender language, that no reader possessed of human heart can fail to give them the tribute of a sympathetic tear. The passages which describe the inconsolable grief felt by Aja, and the tender outpouring of his heart are among the finest in the Sanscrit literature. Though broken-hearted by the sad bereavement which befell him, Aja did not relax his undivided attention to the affairs of the kingdom, but on the other hand, his affliction only tended to make him still more attached to his subjects, and mindful of their welfare. After his death, his son Desaradha succeeded him on the throne. The history of Desaradha and of his son "Sri-Rama" is well known to the reading public by the great epic poem of "Ramayana," and I think it unnecessary, therefore, to discuss here that portion of the story of "Raghuvamsa" which is covered by the "Ramayna". It is enough to observe, 'en passim', that there are passages in the chapters relating to the history of Desaradha and Rama which, in point of beauty and majesty, can challenge a comparison with the best productions of western poets. Rama, after returning from his conquest of Lanka, ruled his kingdom for sometime with splendour and glory worthy of his divine character, and in the society of his gentle and affectionate wife, the illustrious "Sita," enjoyed the highest possible human happiness, combined with virtue. But after some years, when he had reason to think that his duty as a king required his separation from "Sita," he, with a degree of mental strength and self-sacrifice truly heroic, showed himself equal to the painful step of banishing her. Sita after her banishment lived for some time in the 'Asraman' (hermitage) of the renowed Rishi, "Valmiki," and gave birth to two sons, Kusa and Leva; and after a time, Rama, smarting under the pain of separation from her, and oppressed by remorse, invited "Sita" to rejoin him; but she, high-souled and magnanimous, deemed it improper to again vex her lord on her account, and accordingly, made her exit from the theatre of life in a manner truly superhuman. Rama lived for some years more, governing his kingdom in accordance with the best tenets of the Dharma Sastras, and then departed this life. With the demise of Rama began the decline of this renowned dynasty. Rama was succeeded on his throne by his son "Kusa," a valiant virtuous king; but Kusa's suc-

cessors were mostly rulers of indifferent capacity and merit. No less than 24 kings, descended from *Kusa*, are mentioned in this poem; and of them, the only one worthy of remark is *Sudersana*, a king of extraordinary accomplishments, personal and intellectual. His son, "*Agnivarna*" with whose reign the poem ends, was a perfect sensualist whose only purpose in life was the enjoyment of luxuries. In describing the life of this "epicurean" king, Kâlidasa displays his profound knowledge of the treacherous blandishments of sensual pleasures and of the baneful effects produced by them. In the case of this king, his cōnstant revery in the "illusory paradise of sensual gratifications" brought on its sure reward, "Rajayakshma" (consumption). On the death of "Agnivarna" the crown descended to his queen who ruled the kingdom well. Here the poem ends.

Having thus sketched a brief outline of the story narrated in the "Raghuvamsa," I shall now proceed to discuss briefly a few of the leading chapters in it which are of special importance by reason either of their literary excellence or of their ethical teachings and historic importance. The first chapter which describes the character of king Dileepa, and the story of his life down to the time of his visit to his "Kula-guru" Vasishta, is a literary gem of unrivalled beauty. Couched in slokams simple but effective, it is the repository of descriptions, the most graphic, and thoughts, the most majestic. The chapter opens with an extremely graceful and modest expression of diffidence regarding the poet's capacity to do justice to the subject chosen by him, and the 2 similes employed by the poet in illustration of his point are so apposite and forcible that they have passed into the rank of "bon mots." Then the poet proceeds to give a description in general of the illustrious character of the kings of the "Raghuvamsa," their purity, moral grandeur, personal accomplishments, and virtue. The four small slokas which contain this description are a model of literary terseness and condensation. In this sacred line of noble kings was born Dileepa, a glorious specimen of his race. The qualities and disposition of king Dileepa are so beautifully described by the poet that the description may well fit the greatest hero the world has produced. A man of noble stature, of broad breast, thick-set shoulders, and long arms, with perfect control over his body and mind, he was the embodied quintessence of majesty and splendour. The common saying that the body is an index of the mind was very well illustrated in the

person of this king. "His mental accomplishments were on a par with his bodily accomplishments, his intellectual attainments were worthy of his high mental powers, his actions did credit to his learning, and the grandeur of his achievements was in keeping with the nobility of his actions." In the words of the poet, his character as a king was compounded of two opposite qualities, *viz.*, awe inspiring majesty, and attractive amiability; and accordingly, his subjects both feared and loved him. The subjects over whom he ruled and not merely reigned, obeyed with unswerving loyalty the ordinances laid down by Menu, the founder of his dynasty, and they followed the course of conduct prescribed by his Royal will with the undeviating exactitude with which the "wheels of a chariot follow the course chalked out by the charioteer." This simile is a happy one, and shows the unquestioning obedience which the people paid to their Ruler, and the charming identity of interests and thoughts which existed between them. "By the education, training, and protection which he lavished upon his subjects" he placed himself in 'loco parentis' towards his people, leaving to their natural fathers the empty honor of being the cause of their birth (Jenma-hethu)." He was endowed with the best of qualities, both as a king and as a man. As a man he possessed in a remarkable degree the noble virtue of self-restraint, benevolence and moderation, combined with a lofty disdain of the blandishments of sensual pleasures and of the vanity of human life. Though learned, he was lowly; though great, he was patient and forbearing, and though munificent in his charities, extremely modest and self-denying. In a word, his motto was "plain living and high thinking." As a king he was possessed of all the arts of state-craft which conduce to successful government, and his personal government of the kingdom was bottomed upon the noble maxim of polity that the king exists for the people. He levied contribution (tax) from his subjects simply for the purpose of expending it upon them for their improvement; and in this respect, the poet compares him to the sun, who drawing to himself by means of his rays acqueous vapour from all watery surfaces on the face of the earth, discharges it again upon the earth in the form of rain caused by clouds, with a view to fertilize the soil and thereby afford sustenance to the people. This illustration is a charmingly appropriate one, as it brings out very graphically the noble conception that, like the sun who for the

benefit of the world gives out to the earth what he takes from it, a king who administers the affairs of his people should raise taxation from his people only for their good, and that whatever is taken from them in the shape of taxation should be wholly expended in their improvement. This illustration of the sun and his function in the wise economy of Nature has been employed by the poet in many places, in speaking of the spirit of self-denial and altruism characteristic of great minds, and it lays down the noble maxim that a king should administer the affairs of his subjects with a single eye to their good, and with no thought of personal benefit.

King Dileepa went to the " Asramam" of Vasishta accompanied by his Queen Sudekshina, and the description of the manner in which the journey was performed, and of the reception at the hermitage shows that in ancient times the " Gosha" system was unknown among ladies of noble birth among the Hindus. The holy hermitage of Vasishta as described by the poet is a blessed haven of peace, godliness, and purity, characterised by bliss and simplicity truly arcadian. The scene between king Dileepa and the sage, Vashista, affords evidence of the superhuman physical powers possessed by the divinely inspired Rishis of old, and the great good which, by their virtuous acts of transcendental merit, these great masters of humanity were the means of doing to the country at large. In describing the conversation between Vasishta and the king, the poet designates the latter as " Rajiasrama Muni " (a royal hermit having his kingdom for his hermitage), and this designation is very significant as showing the virtue, purity and peace, which reigned over the kingdom during his administrátion. The lowliness and humility which should characterize Royalty in the presence of its spiritual Guru is well brought out by the poet in the concluding stanzas of this character. It is there said that after Vasishta dismissed the king for the night, a cottage made of leaves was shown as his resting place, and there the king with his Royal lady was content to spend the whole night reposing upon the bare ground overgrown with Kusa grass.

The second chapter relates the story of the king's devoted services to the celestial cow, " Nandini," and of the blessings which he eventually secured from her as the result of a long course of dutiful attendance and respectful worship. The passages which describe this story teem with incidents who show the mag-

nanimity and heroism of the king. The most remarkable among them is the encounter with the pseudonymous lion, "Kumbhodaran." The lion, seizing upon the celestial cow while grazing in the forest, threatens to devour it, and then the king, unable by a miraculous accident, to use his weapon, and overcome by grief, offers to give himself as sacrifice instead of the Cow, whose release he solicits. The lion then uses all manner of arguments to make him give up his offer, but the king, with true heroism, refuses to budge an inch from his fixed resolve to save the cow at the risk of his own life. At this display of the king's wonderful magnanimity, the celestial cow, who had skilfully "improvised" this counterfeit lion, to test the extent of the king's devotion and attachment to her, discovers herself; and gives him, with her milk, the blessing for a son. In the passage which describes this are used two words "Shashtâmsam Urvia," which show that in ancient times Hindu kings levied only a sixth-share of the produce of the land in the shape of tax from the subject population. This expression "Shashtâmsam, which is found also in the "Sakuntala," is of considerable historical importance.

The third chapter begins with a graceful description of the pregnancy of Queen Sudekshina. Here the poet has displayed a good deal of his physiological and astrological knowledge. His description of the festivities which took place on the auspicious occasion of the birth of "Raghu" affords evidence of the existence of the class of dancing girls in those days, and of the practice of releasing prisoners from jail on occasions of joyful domestic events in the family of Hindu kings. Prince "Raghu," possessed of extrordinary accomplishments, both personal and mental, was the very model of a prince, and his valour and prowess were of the highest order. In due course he succeeded his father on the throne, and soon afterwards, impelled by a love of glory worthy of his power and military genius, he set out on a conquest of the world (Digvijiam) with a vast and mighty army. On his triumphal march he, by the vast military resources at his disposal, converted deserts into navigable rivers and opened up forests. Having reduced the countries of Scinde and "Vanga" and planted his "Jaya-stambhom" (banner of victory) there, he crossed the river "Kapisa" by means of a bridge made of live elephants and went into the country of "Kalinga" (probably the modern Calingapatam) and met the lord of "Mahendragiri" (probably the modern Rajamundry). Having

conquered that country, and restored it to its Ruler when the latter did homage to him, he continued his march in a southern direction to the region watered by the Cauvery, and after encamping on the valley of the "Malayadri," famous for its cinnamon and sandalwood forests, descended upon the plains and invaded the country of the "Pandya" king. In the passage which describes this invasion the poet alludes to an astronomical principle of some importance, *viz.*, that during the period of "Dekshinayanom," the sun's rays are of less than average power. The lords of the "Pandya regions" (probably Madura and Tinnevelly) propitiated the king, when he approached the river "Thamraparni," with a vast treasure of pearls taken from the adjacent sea, and acknowledged his suzerainty. This allusion to "pearls" shows that so far back as the time of Kalidâsa the sea near Tuticorin was famous for its pearl fishery. He then crossed the mountains, "Malaya and Durdura," and reached the "Sahyadri" (the Western Ghauts). In speaking of the Western Ghauts and the country situated between them and the Arabian Sea (the country of Keralam), the poet alludes to the legend of "Parasu Rama's" reputed creation of "Keralam" out of the bowels of the sea, and this is of considerable historic importance on a much-debated question. This allusion shows that the tradition which connects Parasu Rama with the creation of Keralam was known to the people of Upper India in ancient times, and that, in spite of mythological exaggerations, the tradition is founded upon some basis. It is quite conceivable that by some scismic occurrence, turned to useful advantage by the valour and genius of this mighty hero (Parasu Rama), a recession of the sea resulting in a tract of "terra-firma" was brought about. Crossing the Western Ghauts, Raghu descended upon Keralam. In describing Keralam, the first allusion made by the poet is to its women and their personal embellishments. Then the poet alludes to a long river called "*Murala*" studded with "Ketheki" flowers of exquisite fragrance. It is not easy to fix the identity of this river beyond dispute, but some are of opinion that it is the modern "Bharathapuzha." From Keralam Raghu went to the country of "Parasikas" (probably Persia), and to the country of "Yavanas." The people there are described as a race of men with long beards and whiskers. After a sanguinary fight, they surrendered themselves and acknowledged Raghu's supremacy. Returning thence, he crossed over to Cashmere, the country of

"musk and honey," and after conquering it and the neighbouring country of the "Kamarupas," and exacting tribute therefrom, returned to his own country after a long and victorious campaign.

The next remarkable incident in the reign of this powerful and famous king is the "Swayamvara" marriage of his son, prince Aja, with the sister of the king of "Vidarbha." This "Swayamvara" system of marriage which, in ancient times, obtained largely in Hindu Royal families is an institution of much social and historical importance, and as such, it deserves some notice here. The salient features and incidents of a "Swayamvara" marriage as described by the poet are as follow:—When a maiden in a Royal family attains marriageable age, her Royal guardian decides upon a Swayamvara marriage for her and issues a general proclamation notifying the fact. He also invites, for the purpose, a select number of princes from such of the Royal families as deserve the honor of a special invitation. All the princely guests thus brought together in the Royal family of the maiden are duly welcomed with suitable honors and accommodated in ornamental tents ("Patabhavanom") where they enjoy munificent hospitalities. On the day appointed for the "Swayamvaram," all the Royal guests are accommodated with cushioned seats in a beautifully decorated amphitheatre, and after all of them have taken their seats, heralds appointed for the purpose proclaim the lineage and ancestry of the Royal princes assembled; and then, amidst the flourish of trumpets, the sweat sound of "Mangala Vadiam," the fragrance of burning incense and the fluttering of the banner, the Royal maiden who is to select her "lord of beauty and of love" is ushered in, borne upon a gilt palanquin resting upon the shoulders of liveried retainers. She of course becomes the "cynosure" of all princely eyes, and accompanied by a maid-of-honor well versed in the history of the various princes, she is then carried past the seats of all the assembled princes. As she nears each seat, the maid-of-honor describes to her the qualities and accomplishments of the prince sitting on it, and in this way the palanquin of the Royal maiden is taken round the seats of all the assembled princes. Among them, the maiden selects the prince who captivates her fancy, and in tangible token of her selection, she puts upon his neck a garland of flowers (Varana-Mâla). The selection being over, the happy bridegroom-elect is taken inside the palace, and adorned with vestments appropriate to the occasion, the couple then go

through the religious ceremonies awaiting them in the hymeneal "Mandapom," such as circumambulating the sacrificial fire, throwing fried rice therein, &c. This done, the bride and the bridegroom take their seat together on a golden throne, amidst the benedictions and congratulations of relatives and friends, and the ceremony is then complete.

In the tenth chapter which treats of the history of king "Dasaradha" the son of Aja, there is a very beautiful and highly philosophic description of the hymns of praise addressed by the 'Devas' to Maha Vishnu when they went to him to solicit the destruction of the mighty Ravana, the unconquered devastator of the three worlds. The terms in which the hymns are couched breathe the grandest and purest thoughts of religion and philosophy; and show that the Hindu conception of cosmogony is one of the noblest attained by man, and that the Hindu religion, in its basic principles, is one of the most Catholic and tolerant in the world. In proof of the enlightened spirit of toleration which characterizes the fundamental conceptions of Hindu religion, I may set out here the translation of one of the slokas composing the hymns. "The paths which lead to human salvation, though diverse and divided into many, by different systems of religion and philosophy, all lead up to Thee and end in Thee, as the stream of the Ganges, divided in its course in various directions, finally reaches, and empties itself into the great ocean." This conception that the end and aim of all religions is the same and that the universal Lord is the Lord of all religions, shows that the "Vedanta" philosophy of the Hindus is a philosophy of universal love and toleration.

The 11th and 12th chapters of the poem narrate the history of Rama, and of his many acts of valour and prowess, culminating in the destruction of Ravana and the conquest of Lanka. In these chapters there are many passages of surpassing beauty and elegance both of diction and of thought, but it is impossible to do justice to them by a cursory notice at the fag end of a review article. The most remarkable passages in the 13th chapter are those which describe the return journey of Rama from Lanka accompanied by Sita. In the course of their journey in the "Pushpaga Vimanam" (chariot), Rama describes to Sita the important scenes and sceneries on the way, with special reference to their past life of wedded bliss and their subsequent life of painful

separation. Some of these passages are of unrivalled excellence, and breathe the purest sentiments of conjugal love and affection.

One of the most remarkable things that strike an intelligent reader of "Raghuvamsa" is the knowledge of natural history and human character which the author displays in it, and the side light which it throws upon some of the most important social usages and institutions of ancient India. The information which this work affords us regarding the flora and fauna of India and of the system of Government and social polity which obtained in ancient times, is interesting and instructive. The ethical and philosophical maxims laid down in it and the moral lessons inculcated by it are of high value and importance. In short Raghuvamsa is a poem calculated, at once, to delight and invigorate the mind. It is distinguished from other "Kaviams," not only by superior loftiness of conception and grandeur of execution, but also by beauties of diction and style altogether unrivalled. Such a production, so remarkably excellent from every point of view, is worthy of the profound attention of all lovers of sound literature

T. V. ANANTAN NAIR.

AGRICULTURAL BANKS FOR MADRAS.

THE report on Land and Agricultural Banks for the Madras Presidency written to the order of the Madras Government by F. A. Nicholson, Esq., I. C. S., has been lying before us for a considerable time. We offer our apology to Mr. Nicholson for this delay. In one sense we are glad that, we took a pretty long time to notice this production, considering, that it is the only work of its kind amongst the so-called Blue-Book series of the Government which treats fully, accurately, and dispassionately some of the important aspects of the Rural Economy of this Presidency. Indeed, it may be said that it is the first attempt on the part of the Government to ascertain in a rational manner the economic condition of the peasantry of this Presidency. That the report has been eminently successful goes without saying, for, it has been a foregone conclusion that when the work of investigating the various systems of rural credit prevalent in the Presidency, and the *possibility* of introducing Credit Banks was entrusted to the author of the " Coimbatore Manual," the work could not have been placed in better hands. Lord Wenlock's Government, therefore, deserves the thanks of all lovers of Agriculture, for having initiated the movement, in connection with one of the most important ways of improving the Agriculture of this Presidency, for selecting the only officer competent to investigate the subject. Emile-de-Lavelye, one of the greatest of modern writers on Economics, more especially on Rural Economics, says somewhere in his writings that the prosperity of an Agricultural community might be gauged by the presence of professional money-lenders amongst them. In fact the prosperity of one will be in an inverse ratio to that of the other. Sir James Caird, the President of the Indian Famine Commission of 1877 calls the village usurer " the product of a diseased state of society." It is not too much to say that Mr. Nicholson has made an honest attempt to place before the public the real state of rural indebtedness in this Presidency, and a carefully thought out plan, to relieve the rural population from this indebtedness, which should certainly be ranked amongst those schemes of *constructive* statemanship which a foreign and a beaurocratic Govern-

ment like the one we have in India seldom finds opportunities of carrying into practical use.

The Report before us is, as the author explains, a "compilation from numerous works and reports of Europe and America." But, what a compilation! We have had the pleasure of reading some of these reports in the original, and we might say without flattery that the copy beats the original. The mass of works Mr. Nicholson had to digest before he began his compilation was so multifarious and huge in volume, and so complicated in structure that we could but view with wonder, the patience, courage, and scholarship displayed through the more than four hundred pages of the Blue-Book lying before us.

The one lesson that has been persistently brought to prominence in this report, is, that the Agricultural population, all the world over, are of the same ilke, that they are subject to the same economic laws, and that the remedy that was patiently initiated, and successfully carried out in one country might with advantage be adopted in other countries as well.

Within the last one hundred years Europe has been an object lesson to the rest of the world in all that constitutes the true progress of humanity, whether in industrial arts, social economics, or intellectual achievements. She shows her superiority not only in the modern arts and sciences, but even in the most ancient art of arts, the art of agriculture, and she has, with an unerring eye detected where the faults lay, and how they are to be remedied. Nay more, she has, within the last 50 years successfully carried out schemes which to a great extent liberated the peasantry from a thraldom which for centuries have been eating their vitals. To study these schemes, to adopt them to the requirements of the Indian peasantry, has been the work of Mr. Nicholson, and well might he be proud of his achievement.

The changes that took place in the rural economy of India, after the advent of the Mohamedan and other conquerors were similar to the changes that took place in Europe after the middle ages when the Church and State assumed pretensions which they did not enjoy before. The change in the rights of property hath had its counterpart in the change that took place in the rights of individual liberty. The one was correlated to the other. It is no exaggeration to say that the spirit of *individualism* with its watchword "the freedom of contract" that kept Europe in complete sway for a considerably long period has had the effect of

paralysing all the energy of those individuals that were hardly able to stand on their own legs. The result was a thorough breaking up of those ancient village institutions which stood as a rampart against the incursions of those piratical individuals who come as friends of the peasantry in the guise of money-lenders.

It has been proclaimed, that the money-lenders are a necessary evil, that they are the outcome of the inevitable law of *supply* and *demand*, and that any attempt to interfere with the ordinary run of business transactions in a community by wise legislation would be the introduction of the thin end of the wedge of "socialism," &c., &c. All this clap-trap nonsense has had a very serious effect for a considerable time on the prosperity of a community that cannot live "on supply and demand," but, fortunately, a few thoughtful and philanthropic men of Europe saw through the whole game, and determined, about fifty years ago, to give the lie to this "dismal science" by practically carrying out measures for the amelioration of the peasantry. Their object was not "to place society on an intellectual basis," but on the more solid basis of humanity. They realised once for all that *co-operation* and not *competition* should be the basis of their operations. They realised further that *honesty* should be *capitalised*, and that *avarice*, *discounted*. The fight was *individualism* versus *collectivism*. *Competition*, the watchword of *individualism* is gradually giving way to *co-operation* the watchword of *collectivism*. The recognition of trade unions as a legitimate combination on the part of workers, the establishment of Friendly Societies under the fostering care of State supervisions, the passing of Factory Acts for the benefit of the labouring classes, are, all movements more or less of a socialistic nature wherein the limits of individualism with its iron law of freedom of contract have been curtailed to a considerable extent. While the workers in other fields have been making tremendous strides in various ways, those employed in the art of cultivating the soil have been slow to adopt measures for their betterment. This was due to the condition of the rural classes in Europe 50 years ago. They were, not, and are not in most cases even now, of that advanced character which is associated with the European nations in their commercial, industrial, educational, literary, and political aspects. The masses of the "peasantry were, and to a great extent still are, ignorant, suspicious, conservative, isolated, and poor; holding land in

small and diffused patches; exploited by usurers; hide-bound by custom; incapable of associated effort; unable to comprehend, and unwilling to adopt new methods however useful, new improvements however obvious." This description of the peasantry of Europe 50 years ago exactly corresponds to the conditions of the Madras peasantry, now prevailing, whether in the tenure of land, in the prevalence of indebtedness, in the rapacity of the usurer, or in the inability on the part of the peasants to combine for mutual help. It, therefore, becomes all the more important that we should familiarise ourselves, first, with the means adopted in Europe for relieving the impecunious peasant, and for teaching them self-help, thrift, and co-operation, before we attempt any *positive* measures for ameliorating the condition of the peasantry of Madras. Mr. Nicholson accordingly begins with a history of the development of Credit Banks in Europe for the benefit of those connected with land.

Credit is classified under three heads: Real, Chattel, and Personal, correlated to Land, Goods, and 'character,' the capital on which credit could be obtained. The institutions for these three classes are respectively: (1) the Land Banks of Germany, Austria, and France, with the Building Societies of England and America; (2) The Monts de Piêtê of France; and (3) the Popular Banks and Credit Unions of Germany and Italy. The Land Banks are properly Land Mortgage Banks, not of the sort we meet with in India, but real Land Mortgage Banks instituted for the sole purpose of saving real large estates and not to swallow them up. Banks of this description were first started in Prussia under the œgis of the Great Frederick for relieving large proprietors. They will be of great service in this Presidency for preserving the ancient Zemindaries from being eaten up by speculative money-lenders. But they do not touch the great masses of the peasantry and the artizan classes, the same that stand in incessant need of borrowing. The second class representing the *Monts de Piêtê* are pawnbroking institutions more or less municipalised where a needy artizan could get money at a very low rate of interest. Indeed it may be said that these institutions with ramifications all over France have practically rooted out usury, and that adventurous class of Jews that do a roaring trade in London in small loans at high rates of interest is a rare being in France. Side by side with the *Monts de Piêtê* of France, are the Monti Frumentarii of Italy

and the Positos of Spain, institutions both ancient and beneficial for the rural population, institutions somewhat on the lines of '*takkavi*' once common in India as State advances for "the immediate needs of the cultivation season, which are now solely supplied by the village money-lender." We regret to notice that Mr. Nicholson has not given us, a historic account of the rise and decline of this system, nor could we find any argument in his report why the "takkavi" should have bifurcated into the Land Improvement Loans, and Agriculturists' Loan Acts. According to the author, it was the "zeal for scientific, or supposed scientific improvements," characteristic of the 19th century that brought the "takkavi" into disrepute; and yet Mr. Nicholson has no sympathy with the recommendations of the Famine Commissioners for establishing granaries, for, he coolly dismisses them on the score of being novel. . That the "takkavi" has a long case of life, even under a metamorphosed state, was recently shown by a writer in "The London Times," that the Land Banks started in Mysore were but the "takkavi" of old, so common in India during the pre-British period. Whether the conclusions of this whilom writer of "The Times" were correct, or, not, there remains the fact that the old "takkavi" rises now and then like the phœnix of old from its ashes with renewed vigour. It would therefore have been a piece of historical and economical study if Mr. Nicholson had fully treated this "takkavi" system in all its bearings, for we hold, that the systems that Mr. Nicholson recommends as being most successful in dealing with the peasant farmers of Europe are but a development of the old "takkavi" systems and that the European systems could well have been engrafted on to the stock of the "takkavi." In Mr. Nicholson's opinion the banks that have been most popular and successful in Europe in dealing with the peasant population have been those known as "Popular Banks."

These are of three great classes, *viz.*, those following the system of Schulze-Delitzsch, of Luzzati and of Raiffeisen. These are strictly speaking co-operative banks, and not on the joint-stock principle, and their phenomenal success within a very reasonable short time shows that the true remedy for rural indebtedness lies not in the spirit of *competition* but in *co-operation*.

The major portion of Mr. Nicholson's report deals with the three sorts of banks mentioned above, and their adaptability to

the requirements of South India. Of those the first and the last are of German origin. It is a strange coincidence that Germany, of all countries in Europe, the most aristocratic and individualistic so far as the clientile of the Government is concerned, should have of late, shown a remarkable aptitude for realising and carrying into practice those *socialistic* principles which are the bug-bear of holders and up-holders of authority; for, Germany is *par excellence* the socialist's land to-day and Germany, moreover, has developed institutions like the above based on *socialistic* or *co-operative* principles. Well then, Germany has found a Dr. Schulze, and a Raiffeisen. Both these learned Doctors realized the grand principle, that to help the poor and the weak, the poor and the weak should be employed, and not those of the "upper ten," who naturally spurn the poor petitioner. Burns has not spoken in vain when he said

"See yonder, poor, overlaboured wight
So abject, mean, and low
Who begs a brother of the earth
To give him leave to toil
And see his lordly fellow worm
The poor petition spurn."

These banks were originally started for the artisan, small trading and professional classes. Their operations gradually extended to the rural population. These were worked on the principle of unlimited liability, thrift, and the productivity of loans granted. *Thrift* was the backbone, without *thrift, no credit.* The Schulze societies number over 1,076 in Germany, with a consolidated capital of over 7 million pounds, of 22 million pounds of deposits and borrowed funds, and doing a business of over 78 million annually. Their defect, as Mr. Nicholson points out is in the shortness of their loans. As these institutions are more for the urban than rural population, and especially for artisans and such other folks who draw a regular weekly wage, and who want occasionally a small loan, the shortness of the duration of the loan does not seriously affect them. They are not well suited to the Agricultural population, and they have therefore the Raiffeisen institutions which are entirely rural and co-operative in principle. This institution has had the humblest origin and is due entirely to the genius and philanthropic efforts a simple burgomaster, "Father" Raiffeisen as he was popularly styled. Mr. Nicholson thus sums up the principles on which these

institutions are worked, (1) limitation of usual area, to a single village, so that the bank may know and be known of all; (2) unlimited liability; (3) reduction of the share capital—now compulsory by law to the lowest possible minimum; (4) absolute gratuitousness of administration, only the actual clerical work being paid for; (5) the utilisation of the loans only for productive purposes, the word "productive" being interpreted widely, as, for instance, for maintaining the farmer pending his crops, &c.; (6) a considerable duration of loans, extending ordinarily up to 10, and occasionally to 20 years; (7) repayment by small instalments; (8) entire absence of increasing dividends, the shares, of an almost nominal amount, bearing only a moderate interest fixed by the articles, all other profits being credited to a reserve which is not the property of members save in their corporate capacity; hence it can be spent only in works of public utility. These institutions scattered over the rural tracts of Germany have their own central Banks for equalizing funds by lending the surplus of some to meet the needs of others. These had a very humble beginning in 1849, and there were only four by 1868, *i. e.*, during nearly 20 years they made little or no progress, since then they had a phenomenal success; to-day number by *thousands*! The next in importance is the Luzzati Popular Bank of Italy. Luzzati the founder was then a young Professor of Political Economy, and subsequently became minister of finance. These Banks were started only within the last 30 years. There are now over 900 of these banks with a capital of over 4 million pounds, and doing business especially in the discounting line, &c., for 57 million pounds. The Italian banks are on the *limited* liability principle, a share capital subscribed by members only, and a heavy reserve, serving as a guarantee. Luzzati for the first time showed to the world that the danger to co-operative institutions lies not in *failure* but in *success*, which leads directors and members for big fees, and large dividends; he, therefore with characteristic foresight has succeeded in getting these institutions worked on as much gratuitous a principle as possible.

We have thus far given a summary of the three important institutions of Europe which have within the last 30 to 50 years been the important means of relieving millions of peasants from the tyranny of money-lenders, and which have taught lessons of thrift, punctuality, and honesty to many a thousand who would

otherwise have been rotting in the nest of misery, and indebtedness, characteristic of the peasantry of India.

We will now proceed to view the condition of the Madras Presidency and the suggestions made by Mr. Nicholson.

It was in the fitness of things that the Madras Government should have been the first in the field in India for enquiring into the possibility of introducing Popular Banks. Four-fifths of the Presidency is under the ryotwar tenure with Government as the land-lord. It is a real case of the " nationalisation of land" on the most democratic principles. Its only defect is that the people did not constitute the Government. The distribution of the land is also on a democratic basis, 94 per cent of the ryots hold land in forms of about 25 acres each, and the extent of the land thus held is over 60 per cent of the total area under cultivation. There is thus a vast field for the introduction of Popular Banks either on the German or Italian system. The informations gathered by Mr. Nicholson go to prove that the " credit primarily needed by the ryots is continuous small loans for current needs including maintenance, cultivation expenses, purchase of stock, payment of revenue, rent and the like ;" secondly, long term loans for permament improvements. The one redeeming feature, according to Mr. Nicholson is, that the major portion of the loans are advanced not by *professional* money-lenders but by the ryots themselves. We do not know how, especially in rural parts, a *professional* money-lender could be distinguished from the *ryot* money-lender, and what advantage there is if the transaction is between a ryot and a ryot. The point to be considered is the nature of the transaction. We know several cases in which money-lenders are actual ryots, but the terms of credit are as usurious as in the case of worst usurers. As the private money-lender is practically the only source of credit in this Presidency for the rural population, he invariably strikes a hard bargain whether he be a ryot or professional money-lender. That credit is dear needs no demonstration, and so long as the individual system of credit lasts so long will the borrowing public will be at the mercy of the lender. As Mr. Nicholson puts it, " banks are a necessity in a developing community," and the question for consideration is what sort of banks should be instituted so as to be of *real* service to the agricultural population. Looking to the genius of the Dravidian folks for purposes of combination for mutual help, Popular Banks on a co-operative principle would be the best

suited for South India. A nation that has for centuries built up communal organizations could not be without the capacity for working credit unions. Besides, the indigenous systems of "*chits*," and "Kurries" show that the people have not only the *capacity*, but what is more important, the *honesty* to maintain successfully such institutions. We might therefore confidently expect to find not one Raiffeisen, but many Raiffeisens when an opportunity arrives.

CONSTITUTION OF THE BANK.

The banks that have succeeded in rooting out usury from Germany, France, Italy and Switzerland, and that have reached the small folks whether agricultural, industrial, trading, or professional, are the Popular Banks on the lines of Schulze-Delitzsch, Raiffeisen, Luzzati and Wollemborg as well as the Building and other Friendly Societies. "The common feature of all these institutions is proximity," *i.e.*, the bank shall be in immediate contact with its clients. This is absolutely necessary for this Presidency for the loans as a rule are very small, and mostly on personal credit, though distributed to a large number of persons. Even in the mortgage loan which is over 400,000 annually, half are below Rs. 100, and half above Rs. 100. Those below Rs. 100 average only Rs. 44 a piece, and 15 per cent. of those below Rs. 100, are for sums not exceeding Rs. 25.

But by far, a large portion of loans especially in grains are advanced on *personal* credit of the borrower and unless he is in proximity with the lender he has no chance of getting any loan. The following quotation from Mr. Nicholson's report shows the extent of rural indebtedness :—

"Assuming the aggregate value of all existing rural mortgages as 20 crores, of existing cash debts as 15 crores, and of grain debts as 10 crores, the total debt of the rural population at the beginning of harvest will be about 45 crores in an ordinary year. This means an average indebtedness of Rs. 13 per head of the rural population. This is heavy, but in no way overwhelming; the total aggregates about three-fourth, of the annual rural produce taken as 60 crores." This may, as Mr. Nicholson puts it, compare favourably with continental Europe, so far as the amount is concerned, but is very heavy considering the high rates of interest prevailing in this Presidency, and the comparative poverty of the peasant population. Mr. Nicholson himself admits that the average rate of rural credit cannot be less than

15 per cent ; on 45 crores this means 6¾ crores, to which must be added another one or two crores for incidental expenses such as stamps, registration fees, &c. What is therefore wanted is (1) "to cheapen the terms of credit so that the mass of debt may weigh less heavily on the borrowers; (2) to render credit safe both to borrower and lender; (3) to organise credit in such a way that while safe and beneficial in its conditions, its use may be restricted to cases of necessity and of productivity, using these words in a liberal sense." Hence the class of bank required for rural credit are not Land Banks or other great institutions but small local societies corresponding to the popular and credit societies of Germany, France and Italy. Mr. Nicholson thus sums up this interesting portion of his report, "It will be well to lay down as an axiom that for this Presidency the general class of credit required is that which may be supplied by 'Village Banks' using this terms to mean those banks which are capable of development in and should be limited to operations over small towns, single villages, or small groups of villages, such as the Unions of Local Boards Act. These banks may, as in Switzerland, be joint stock banks, with a very small share capital ; they may be popular banks, or credit societies as in Germany and Italy ; they be Nidhis more or less modified from their existing methods to suit wider needs ; they may be co-operation or agricultural societies to supply cattle, stock, implements, seed, manure, food, &c., of good quality and at cost price ; they may be Saving Banks, enjoying as in Germany, Italy, and the United States, the free disposal of their funds within certain limits prescribed by law ; they may be Positos or village granaries, storing the surplus grain of the village, and lending it out for maintenance and seed, as in Spain and Italy. Every one of these institutions is desirable, and every one may assume the form of a purely local village bank."

It has been previously said that the Madras Presidency with its thoroughly democratic systems of land-tenure, and with its hereditary genius for forming associations for mutual help is a suitable place for starting credit banks on a popular basis. The development of what are known as the "Madras Loan Societies" or "Nidhis" within a comparatively recent date, without any aid whatsoever from the State shows what might be done in establishing institutions for credit, more or less on a popular basis. These Nidhis originated in the City of Madras about 1850. It

was a strange fact that about the time Raiffeisen was organising his schemes of Popular Banks for Germany, and while the artizans of England were working out their Building Societies, a few shrewd people of Madras should have conceived the idea of forming the Loan Societies known as "Nidhis". The first fund was called the Sudder Court Fund open to officials only. The rules were somewhat on the lines of the Building Societies of England. The first Fund was a "Terminating Society" with a seven years' period; each subscriber agreed to pay for 84 months, when the Fund should be wound up and shares repaid at Rs. 102½ per 84 received. From the collection, loans were granted to members at 6¼ per cent. interest with penalties for delay; the loans repayable by the monthly subscriptions, were usually on mortgage, and the order of granting them was determined by lot; the cost of establishment was met from the penalties and from a charge for commission. The fund finally became permanent, that is, a new series of subscribers, were admitted and shares opened every year, and finally every month, so that, there was a continuous influx and eflux of members and shares. The Fund prospered remarkably well, and many fresh ones were started. Some were genuine Loan Societies for the benefit of the borrower, some for high dividends, and therefore of a usurious nature, and some were 'bogus' funds for cheating the public. All these Funds prospered till 1872 when they received an unexpected check. It was discovered that the Societies were illegal not having registered under the Joint Stock Companies' Act. The case was taken to the High Court where a judgment adverse to these Funds was given. This collapsed the Funds, many of the borrowers refusing to meet the calls. The total loss was over 20 lakhs. The above is a summary of the history of these "Nidhis." There are now about 140 of these Nidhis well established in this Presidency; most of these are in the Madras City itself, and one especially, has over 3,000 members, and about 17,000 shares. The sudden rise and collapse of several Nidhis about 1890 has to a great extent shaken the faith in these institutions. They have nevertheless served a useful purpose, and under wise laws and good management capable of great development. As at present constituted, they have serious defects which according to Mr. Nicholson are (1) "The fact that they operate almost entirely with their subscribed, and paid in, capitals; (2) their inability to attract deposits, since there is no sufficient security for

them and a difficulty in repaying them; this largely reduces their importance as Credit Societies; (3) their inability to give loans at any time to any amount; only a member who happens to win the ballot or to be first on the register, can get loans, these being limited to the amount of the subscriptions for the month; (4) their inability to give loans for very long term; (5) the necessity for repayments by regular monthly instalments, a plan not suited to agricultural incomes; the tendency of the Societies, which in their origin and idea are co-operative, to become mere Joint Stock Institutions, in which the race for dividends, and of directors as the holders of offices more and more highly paid as profits are forced up." A few words about the administration of these Nidhis would not be out of place, showing that the original promoters, at least, were very shrewd men of business. A Nidhi is formed by a few intelligent men about 7 at least in number. They frame an Article of Association, and subscribe a few shares fully paid up to meet initial expenses. A general meeting is called at which these members, as a rule, become office-bearers, duly elected by the general body. The voting power in Madras and neighbouring districts is in most cases exercised on the principle of "*one-man, one-vote.*" This is the strictly democratic principle adopted in the Popular Banks and Credit Unions of Germany and Italy. In other cases voting is done on a sliding scale according to the number of shares held by each member. In certain Nidhis in the Mofussil one vote is allowed for every share up to ten, and thereafter one for every five. In this case the Funds will naturally fall into the hands of wealthy speculative shareholders who are naturally the office-bearers, and who run these as Joint Stock Companies for high profits. The system is not popular. The success of the "*one-man, one-vote*" principle shows that there is very little danger of abuse if credit unions are placed on a truly democratic basis even in countries like India; when to this will be added the gratuitous work of directors as in continental Europe, the working of the concern will be in safe hands. It appears from the proceedings of the early Nidhis of Madras, that the directors gave their services gratuitously, the object of the Nidhis being "mutual benefit." At present there is hardly a Nidhi in this Presidency which does not give handsome honoraria to its directors, and the race for profits and large dividends is demoralizing many of these Funds. Besides the directors, there is a Secretary, Treasurer, and an Auditor to

every Nidhi. The Secretary is the best paid, as he is certainly the most important member. The Auditors are sometimes taken from amongst the Directors, and sometimes from members. Besides these, there are Appraisers or Commissioners for valuation of properties mortgaged to the Fund. These are important functionaries, and the success, or, otherwise of a loan on property depends on the report of these commissioners.

The accounts are not kept in any prescribed form, and several mistakes arise therefrom. A codified system of accounts is a desideratum. There is at present no external check in auditing, and the absence of a public functionary for examining accounts induces many corrupt methods being introduced in the Reports and Balance Sheets of their Funds.

Funds are formed by the subscriptions of members chiefly.

There may be deposits, but on no account a Fund borrows. The shares of the Fund as Mr. Nicholson points out have two objects (1) they are methods of saving and investments; (2) they are means of (*a*) obtaining and (*b*) paying off loans. The lowest fixed interest is generally $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., *viz.*, 1 pie per month per rupee paid up. This is a very convenient arrangement especially for purposes of calculation. There will be some additional profits which may come to about $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., so that saving subscriber would get a dividend of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. As has been pointed out above, the one defect in these Nidhis is their inability to attract deposits in large sums. Still, there is a certain amount of deposit. The maximum allowed in some is Rs. 5,000, and the minimum Rs. 5. The interest on a deposit varies from 7 to 9 per cent., provided the deposits are not called for sometime. Still there is a paucity of deposits in large sums.

Reserve is provided by an allotment of one-thirty-second of the net profit after deducting all dues to subscribers for repayment of principle and interest. From an examination of the balance sheets of several Nidhis, it was found by Mr. Nicholson that only very few of them had anything like a reserve. This is the main reason why deposits are not much attracted.

Profits. One of the most interesting portions in the report on Nidhis is that on profits. Luzzati, the father of Italian credit unions, and one of the leading economists of the day has pointed out that the dangers of co-operative Societies lie not in *failures*, but in *successes*. The principle of co-operation is lost the moment

a Co-operative Society rushes in for large dividends, and such Societies cannot in the long run be Mutual Credit Unions, but will only serve the purpose of giving large profits for the directors. The history of the various Nidhis of this Presidency fully bears out Luzzatis' statements. Some of these Funds make as much as 10 and 15 per cent. profit. As these institutions are for the benefit of the borrowers, and as profits are derived from borrowing, after deducting fixed profits according to the rules, all other profits should be reduced to a minimum. As Mr. Nicholson puts it " in America one borrowing Member furnishes the profits for 3 investing members and for himself. In Madras the tendency is for the borrowing Members to furnish relatively small profits for themselves and for one investing member and relatively large profits for directors. There is in this Presidency a peculiar source of profit which is practically absent in Europe, namely, the fines derived from the unpunctuality of the directors. In Europe as well as in America, profits are obtained from the difference between the interest on money received and that on money lent out and other items such as entrance fees premia obtained at the auction of loans, &c. In Madras however it is customary to charge interest at say 6½ p.c. on the whole amount of a loan and to credit the subscriptions or repayments with interest at the same rate; hence no profits can be made out of the chief source, *viz.*, interest on invested funds.

Loans. Loans are generally obtained on mortgages and pledges of jewellery or Government paper. Personal security is seldom accepted in Madras while in Mofussil it is more common than mortgages. This is further illustrative of the fact already mentioned that there is more mutual confidence between members residing in a small town or village than in large cities and consequently credit on personal security or what is called the " endorsement system", the same that has been so successful in Germany and Italy might with advantage be introduced amongst the rural folks. The repayment of these loans is somewhat on the lines of the Building Societies of England. If a man has one share payable in 84 months at Re. 1 per month, a loan is granted to him for Rs. 100 upon mortgage of a property worth perhaps Rs. 150, this loan he repays simply by his ordinary monthly instalments of Re. 1 *plus* interest, at the end of the eighty-four months from the date of his entering the Society, his share will be worth Rs. 102-8-0, and his debt is therefore wiped off.

Loan values. Loans are advanced to a single person on the number of shares he holds which is limited. The maximum generally is fifty shares each of Rs. 50 or Rs. 100, so that the maximum loan will be Rs. 2,500, or Rs. 5,000. The minimum varies from Rs. 5 upwards. As many of these Nidhis are limited to subscriptions of members, only, and as one large loan swallows up many small ones, there is always a scramble for obtaining loans especially of a small nature owing to the paucity of capital available for advancing loans. This could only be remedied by attracting deposits.

Government Intervention. There is practically very little Government intervention. All these Funds have to be registered in the office of the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies. The Registrar's duties simply consists in registering, in the examination of the articles of association, in the issue of a certificate of incorporation, in the levying of certain fees, &c. Since 1882 District Magistrates have been empowered by a G. O. to make an annual inspection, but matters falling within their cognizance are so limited that there is practically no check on these Nidhis. The case is quite otherwise in Europe. The registrar in India has no powers, such as those of the Registrar of Friendly Societies, and other co-operative association of Europe and America. In England, as Mr. Nicholson says "direct supervision and control are found "increasingly necessary, and are universal in Europe, where the "laws are specially framed to include these Societies and Govern-"ment Departments are specially changed with important "duties; in fact for the most complete exposition of Government "interference in banking, it is necessary to turn to the United "States of America, where the National Banking system, now "ramified throughout the states, is minutely regulated by law, "and placed under the direct control and supervision of a com-"missioner appointed *ad hoc*, and where the Savings Banks and "Mutual Loan Societies are placed under the special supervision "either of the Superintendent of the Banking Department of the "Special Savings Bank Commissioners."

We have thus far given a summary of the development of credit institutions of Europe and of Madras; we have devoted more space to Madras with its very small number of Funds of a very limited capital, for the simple reason that Madras with every factors against her, Legislative, Financial, Economic, &c., has yet been able to develop institutions of mutual credit some-

what on a popular basis. Europe, within the last 40 years, has established popular banking institutions doing a business of over 300 million pounds per annum; forty years in Madras have produced only 135 institutions of a solid nature with a capital of about two lakhs. Yet the conditions of this Presidency are not dissimilar to those of Europe. Here is a subject for reflection, and the future development of these credit institutions will more or less depend upon the studying of the ways and means whereby the European institutions have been developed to this present greatness and popularity, and the adaptability of those ways and means to the requirements of India. India, with her past troubled history, dating from the invasion of Mohamed of Ghazni down to the present time, with her public opinion so far as the rural population is concerned, almost *nil*, her indigenous press in infancy, her powers of co-operation for mutual benefit still on the trial under a beaurocratic and individualistic Government, where the individual members of society are too timid, poor and inert to withstand the piractical actions of corporate bodies such as directors of Joint Stock Companies, &c., where such companies are not properly controlled by the Government or a responsible public, India, with all these drawbacks, has yet shown to the world that she has not yet lost her genius for self-help, and mutual help, qualities which have been inherent in the Hindu nation ever since the dawn of the history of civilized mankind. *Laisser fairie*, *Laisser aller !* These are sweet and consoling expressions for the thriving banker, or the usurious money-lender; but freedom in production, distribution, and exchange, the tripod of the political economist, carries no meaning with it unless all persons concerned in production, distribution and exchange are equally free, and unless all classes can produce, distribute, or exchange under equal conditions. Europe with her boasted 19th century civilization required direct care and supervision under Government, for developing Credit Unions for the benefit of the rural population; why should not India with her traditional difficulties expect or deserve, the same? Mr. Nicholson summed up his report in the two words "Find Raiffeisen." We will slightly alter it, and say "Find Government."

(To be continued.)